

Tunisia:
Power is in
the streets

Health Special:
Kids and
concussions

Zodiac:
No really, what's
your sign?

TIME

THE TRUTH ABOUT TIGER MOMS

A mother's memoir
on tough-love parenting
unleashed an
international debate.
Is that because she's
onto something?

BY ANNIE MURPHY PAUL





Easy act to follow.

9 out of 10 Americans aren't getting essential nutrients we need. That's a serious gap. But just one more serving of nutrient-rich milk a day for you and your family can help fill it. Sometimes the smallest acts make the biggest difference. So, pour one more.

got milk?

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Revolutionary cloud A policeman stands amid tear gas during an antigovernment demonstration in Tunisia, where unrest forced the President to flee the country. Photograph by Fred Dufour—AFP/Getty Images

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10 Questions.

The Oscar-nominated actress stars in *Blue Valentine*. **Michelle Williams will now take your questions**

How do you manage to convey so much realism in your characters? Where does all that raw emotion come from?

Ebony Frier, CLEVELAND

The truth is, I don't know. I find that when I'm doing my best work or when I'm most excited by my work, there's a kind of forgetfulness that happens, and the source of where something is coming from is unknown, even to me. So it has this element of magic, and that's what makes me want to do it again and again.

Have you ever related to any of the characters you've portrayed? How so?

Shaden Muhyieddeen, ANAHEIM, CALIF.

Every single one. Sometimes it's more difficult, like when you're playing somebody who kills her children [like in *Shutter Island*]. But, yes, always. It's the place where I start. Because you're human, you have an innate relatedness to everyone. Also, I find it important to ask, How am I not like this person? What gaps in my own understanding of the way people work do I need to fill in to be able to play this person?

Were there any films or books that helped you prepare for your role in *Blue Valentine*?

John Bajada, MALTA, MONT. When I first met Derek [Cianfrance], the director, I bought him two presents. One was a CD [and the other] a copy of my favorite book of poems by Galway Kinnell. There's a line in one of his poems, "Being forever in the pre-trembling of a house that falls." It's about the atmosphere that you live in when you're a child of divorce.



The poem is called "Little Sleep's Head Sprouting Hair in the Moonlight." Go find it. All my prep work is in there.

I really enjoyed your film *Dick*. Will you do more comedy?

Bob Zeid, OAK ISLAND, N.C. I would love to. Got any for me?

You seem to favor independent movies. Do you ever see yourself doing blockbusters?

Emily Hansen, SANDS POINT, N.Y. Never say never, because then you have to eat your words. But I don't think so. I like working on movies where it feels like a family. One thing that I find very hard about acting is all the transience. Sometimes I feel like I live my life in a circle of hellos and

goodbyes, and that's not really my nature.

Which actors would you most like to work with?

Li Bingyang, HARBIN, CHINA I would love to work with Tilda Swinton. Kate Winslet. Sometimes when you let a dream escape your lips, it's scary.

What's your biggest guilty pleasure?

Brenda Garcia, JAKARTA Long showers. Really long showers. I get out when the water turns cold.

Did being covered by tabloids make it harder to do your job?

Gobani Qambela, GRAHAMSTOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

Yes. It made me not want to do my job as an actress. It's just not a nice way to live, feeling under scrutiny and like you're being followed and like somebody's waiting to catch a private moment. But I'm trying to find the balance so that I can continue to work.

If you weren't acting, what would you be doing?

Tessa Bayrante, MADRID I would be a full-time mom. There's nothing else I know how to do. There's nothing else that I could earn money from, that anybody would pay me to do or want to see me do or ask me to do for them. There are things that I would like to be better at, but there would be no other way for me to earn a living. In my dream version of me, I would be maybe a writer, maybe a circus performer, maybe a seamstress.

What has been your most important role, and how has the experience changed you?

Sandra Bento, TORONTO Mother. Somebody once told me that being a parent is like dying and being reborn, which sounds drastic, but I understood what she meant. It's the thing that's most important to me. If I don't get that right, then nothing else really matters. I feel reborn as a human being in every way. There's not a part of my life that it hasn't touched.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch interviews with Michelle Williams and other newsmakers, go to time.com/10questions



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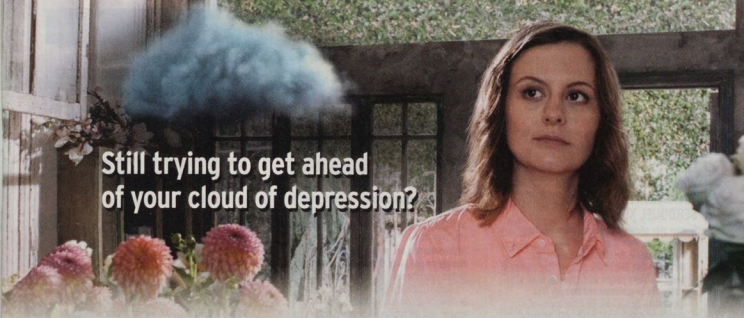
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Still trying to get ahead of your cloud of depression?

If you've been on an antidepressant for at least six weeks and still have unresolved symptoms of depression, ask your doctor about adding **SEROQUEL XR**.

Important Safety Information About SEROQUEL XR

Elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis (having lost touch with reality due to confusion and memory loss) treated with this type of medicine are at an increased risk of death, compared to placebo (sugar pill). SEROQUEL XR is not approved for treating these patients.

Antidepressants have increased the risk of suicidal thoughts and actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults. Patients of all ages starting treatment should be watched closely for worsening of depression, suicidal thoughts or actions, unusual changes in behavior, agitation, and irritability. Patients, families, and caregivers should pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed. These symptoms should be reported immediately to the doctor. SEROQUEL XR is not approved for patients under the age of 18 years.

- Stop SEROQUEL XR and call your doctor right away if you have very high fever; stiff muscles; shaking; confusion; sweating; changes in pulse, heart rate, or blood pressure; or muscle pain and weakness, as these may be signs of a rare, but potentially fatal, side effect called neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)
- If you have diabetes or risk factors such as obesity or a family history of diabetes, your doctor should check your blood sugar before you start taking SEROQUEL XR and also during therapy. If you develop symptoms of high blood sugar or diabetes, such as excessive thirst or hunger, increased urination, or weakness, contact your doctor. Complications from diabetes can be serious and even life threatening
- Increases in triglycerides and in LDL (bad) cholesterol and decreases in HDL (good) cholesterol have been reported with SEROQUEL XR. Your doctor should check your cholesterol levels before you start SEROQUEL XR and during therapy
- Weight gain has been reported with SEROQUEL XR. Your doctor should check your weight regularly
- Tell your doctor about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts, as they may be signs of a serious condition called tardive dyskinesia (TD). TD may not go away, even if you stop taking SEROQUEL XR. TD may also start after you stop taking SEROQUEL XR

- Tell your doctor if you have a history of low white blood cell count or seizures. Your doctor should check for cataracts. Other risks include feeling dizzy or lightheaded upon standing, decreases in white blood cells (which can be fatal), drowsiness, impaired judgment, and trouble swallowing
- Use caution before driving or operating machinery until you know that you can do so safely. Avoid alcohol while taking SEROQUEL XR
- The most common side effects are drowsiness, dry mouth, constipation, dizziness, increased appetite, upset stomach, weight gain, fatigue, disturbance in speech and language, and stuffy nose

This is not a complete summary of safety information about prescription SEROQUEL XR.

Indication

SEROQUEL XR is a once-daily tablet approved in adults for add-on treatment to an antidepressant for patients with major depressive disorder (MDD) who did not have an adequate response to antidepressant therapy.

Please read the Brief Summary of Important Information about SEROQUEL XR on the next two pages.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

For more information, visit SeroquelXR.com or call 1-800-4-SEROQUELXR.

If you're without prescription coverage and can't afford your medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help. For more information, please visit AstraZeneca-usa.com.


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IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT SEROQUEL XR (SER-oh-kwell)

Please read this summary carefully before you start taking SEROQUEL XR and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you or take the place of careful discussions with your health care provider. Only your health care provider has the training to weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

What is the most important information I should know about SEROQUEL XR?

Serious side effects may happen when you take SEROQUEL XR, including:

- Risk of death in the elderly with dementia: Medicines like SEROQUEL XR can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality due to confusion and memory loss (dementia). SEROQUEL XR is not approved for treating psychosis in the elderly with dementia.
- Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions: Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions:
 1. Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults within the first few months of treatment.
 2. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal thoughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions. These include people who have (or have a family history of) depression, bipolar illness (also called manic-depressive illness), or suicidal thoughts or actions.
 3. How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?
 - Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed.
 - Call the health care provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings.
 - Keep all follow-up visits with the health care provider as scheduled. Call the health care provider between visits as needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms.

Call a health care provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worry you:

- thoughts about suicide or dying
- attempts to commit suicide
- new or worse depression
- new or worse anxiety
- feeling very agitated or restless

- panic attacks
- trouble sleeping (insomnia)
- new or worse irritability
- acting aggressive, being angry, or violent
- acting on dangerous impulses
- an extreme increase in activity and talking (mania)
- other unusual changes in behavior or mood

What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

- **Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to your health care provider.** Stopping an antidepressant medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms.
- **Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses.** It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not treating it. Patients and their families or other caregivers should discuss all treatment choices with the health care provider, not just the use of antidepressants.
- **Antidepressant medicines have other side effects.** Talk to the health care provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member.
- **Antidepressant medicines can interact with other medicines.** Know all of the medicines that you or your family member take. Keep a list of all medicines to show the health care provider. Do not start new medicines without first checking with your health care provider.
- **Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children.** Talk to your child's health care provider for more information.

What is SEROQUEL XR?

SEROQUEL XR is a prescription medicine used to treat major depressive disorder as add-on treatment with antidepressant medicines when your doctor determines that one antidepressant alone is not enough to treat your depression. SEROQUEL XR is not approved for patients under 18 years of age.

What are the symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD)?

- Feeling of sadness, emptiness, and increased tearfulness
- Loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and loss of energy
- Problems focusing and making decisions
- Feeling of worthlessness or guilt
- Changes in sleep or eating patterns
- Thoughts of death or suicide
- MDD symptoms last most of the day, nearly every day for at least two weeks, and interfere with daily life at home and at work

What should I tell my health care provider before taking SEROQUEL XR?

Before taking SEROQUEL XR, tell your health care provider if you have or have had

- diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family; your health care provider should check your blood sugar before you start SEROQUEL XR and also during therapy
- high levels of total cholesterol, triglycerides or LDL-cholesterol or low levels of HDL-cholesterol
- low or high blood pressure
- low white blood cell count
- cataracts
- seizures
- abnormal thyroid tests
- high prolactin levels
- heart problems
- liver problems
- any other medical condition
- pregnancy or plans to become pregnant. It is not known if SEROQUEL XR will harm your unborn baby
- breast-feeding or plans to breast-feed. It is not known if SEROQUEL XR will pass into your breast milk. You and your health care provider should decide if you will take SEROQUEL XR or breast-feed. You should not do both

Tell the health care provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken including prescription medicines, nonprescription medicines, herbal supplements and vitamins.

SEROQUEL XR and other medicines may affect each other causing serious side effects. SEROQUEL XR may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how SEROQUEL XR works. Especially tell your health care provider if you take or plan to take medicines for:

- depression
 - high blood pressure
 - Parkinson's disease
 - trouble sleeping
- Also tell your health care provider if you take or plan to take any of these medicines:
- phenytoin, divalproex or carbamazepine (for epilepsy)
 - barbiturates (to help you sleep)
 - rifampin (for tuberculosis)
 - glucocorticoids (steroids for inflammation)
 - thioridazine (an antipsychotic)
 - ketoconazole, fluconazole or itraconazole (for fungal infections)
 - erythromycin (an antibiotic)
 - protease inhibitors (for HIV)

This is not a complete list of medicines that can affect or be affected by SEROQUEL XR. Your doctor can tell you if it is safe to take SEROQUEL XR with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines while taking SEROQUEL XR without talking to your health care provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines to show your health care provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine. Tell your health care provider if you are having a urine drug screen because SEROQUEL XR may affect your test results. Tell those giving the test that you are taking SEROQUEL XR.

For more information about SEROQUEL XR, visit www.SEROQUELXR.com or call 1-800-236-9933.

SEROQUEL XR®
quetiapine fumarate
extended-release tablets
50, 150, 200, 300, 400 mg

How should I take SEROQUEL XR?

- Take SEROQUEL XR exactly as your health care provider tells you to take it. Do not change the dose yourself.
- Take SEROQUEL XR by mouth, with a light meal or without food.
- SEROQUEL XR should be swallowed whole and not split, chewed or crushed.
- If you feel you need to stop SEROQUEL XR, talk with your health care provider first.

If you suddenly stop taking SEROQUEL XR, you may experience side effects such as trouble sleeping or trouble staying asleep (insomnia), nausea, and vomiting.

- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. If it is close to the next dose, skip the missed dose. Just take the next dose at your regular time. Do not take 2 doses at the same time unless your health care provider tells you to. If you are not sure about your dosing, call your health care provider.
- If you take too much SEROQUEL XR, call your health care provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 right away or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I avoid while taking SEROQUEL XR?

Do not drive, operate machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how SEROQUEL XR affects you. SEROQUEL XR may make you drowsy.

- Avoid getting overheated or dehydrated.
 - Do not over-exercise.
 - In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
 - Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing.
 - Drink plenty of water.
- Do not drink alcohol while taking SEROQUEL XR. It may make some side effects of SEROQUEL XR worse.

What are possible side effects of SEROQUEL XR?

Also see "What is the most important information I should know about SEROQUEL XR?" at the beginning of this document.

Serious side effects have been reported with SEROQUEL XR including:

- Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS):** Tell your health care provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate, and blood pressure. These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Stop SEROQUEL XR and call your health care provider right away.

- High blood sugar (hyperglycemia):** Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take SEROQUEL XR. Extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes (such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes) your health care provider should check your blood sugar before you start SEROQUEL XR and during therapy. Call your health care provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking SEROQUEL XR
 - feel very thirsty
 - need to urinate more than usual
 - feel very hungry
 - feel weak or tired
 - feel sick to your stomach
 - feel confused, or your breath smells fruity
- High cholesterol and triglyceride levels in the blood (fat in the blood):** Increases in total cholesterol, triglycerides and LDL (bad) cholesterol and decreases in HDL (good) cholesterol have been reported in clinical trials with SEROQUEL XR. You may not have any symptoms, so your health care provider should do blood tests to check your cholesterol and triglyceride levels before you start taking SEROQUEL XR and during therapy
- Increase in weight (weight gain):** Weight gain has been seen in patients who take SEROQUEL XR so you and your health care provider should check your weight regularly
- Tardive dyskinesia:** Tell your health care provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition. Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking SEROQUEL XR. Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stop taking SEROQUEL XR
- Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure):** lightheadedness or fainting caused by a sudden change in heart rate and blood pressure when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position
- Increases in blood pressure:** reported in children and teenagers. Your health care provider should check blood pressure in children and adolescents before starting SEROQUEL XR and during therapy. SEROQUEL XR is not approved for patients under 18 years of age
- Low white blood cell count**
- Cataracts**
- Seizures**
- Abnormal thyroid tests:** Your health care provider may do blood tests to check your thyroid hormone level
- Increases in prolactin levels:** Your health care provider may do blood tests to check your prolactin levels
- Increases in liver enzymes:** Your health care provider may do blood tests to check your liver enzyme levels
- Long lasting and painful erection**
- Difficulty swallowing**

Common possible side effects with SEROQUEL XR include:

- drowsiness
- dry mouth
- constipation
- dizziness
- increased appetite
- upset stomach
- weight gain
- fatigue
- disturbance in speech and language
- stuffy nose

These are not all the possible side effects of SEROQUEL XR. For more information, ask your health care provider or pharmacist. Call your health care provider for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store SEROQUEL XR?

- Store SEROQUEL XR at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F (15°C to 30°C)
- Keep SEROQUEL XR and all medicines out of the reach of children

What are the ingredients in SEROQUEL XR?

Active ingredient: quetiapine fumarate

Inactive ingredients: lactose monohydrate, microcrystalline cellulose, sodium citrate, hypromellose, and magnesium stearate. The film coating for all SEROQUEL XR tablets contain hypromellose, polyethylene glycol 400 and titanium dioxide. In addition, yellow iron oxide (50, 200 and 300 mg tablets) and red iron oxide (50 mg tablets) are included in the film coating of specific strengths.

General information about SEROQUEL XR

Do not take SEROQUEL XR unless your health care provider has prescribed it for you for your condition. Do not share SEROQUEL XR with other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.

NOTE: This summary provides important information about SEROQUEL XR. For more information about SEROQUEL XR, talk with your health care provider or pharmacist or call 1-800-236-9933. You can ask your health care provider for full Prescribing Information about SEROQUEL XR that is written for health care providers and discuss it with him or her.

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Postcard: Tijuana.

Once populated by Americans looking for a good time, TJ now stands near empty because of drug violence. In step the B-movie makers. **On location at a narco-film shoot**

BY TIM MCGIRK

IT'S A HAZY MORNING, AND I'M STANDING outside a McDonald's just a few yards from the U.S. border. The fast-food joint seems to be the favorite place in Tijuana for assassinations of every kind. Near me linger a pair of mismatched lovers, some drug pushers and a giant of a man crosshatched with scars, as if somebody has played tic-tac-toe on his face with a knife. He eyes me briefly before stepping forward. "America," he says, nodding toward a concrete and steel tunnel full of shuffling foreigners waiting to clear U.S. immigration. "You want to cross?" He is a coyote, a human trafficker, and because of my complexion and my gear—jeans, a grubby cotton shirt, a backpack—he apparently mistakes me for an Eastern European.

I am due to meet with a director who makes gory shoot-'em-up flicks about the Mexican drug cartels. Tijuana—both on film and in real life—is their battleground. My ride to the film shoot, a steel gray van, pulls up, and the scarred giant turns away, scowling. Cruising down La Sexta, the heart of the tawdry tourist district, my driver points out all the once famous restaurants and clubs, now shuttered. The wide boulevard is empty save for a man leading a donkey painted like a zebra; most of the traffic in Tijuana these days is one-way, heading north. While a trip to TJ's nightclubs and sleazy bars used to be a rite of passage for every teenage boy from Southern California, that is no longer the case. A ferocious war between the drug cartels and the army litters Tijuana's streets with a few dead bodies every night. "Why have the American tourists stopped coming?" my driver grumbles. "Don't they know that these gunmen don't only kill each other?"

The van stops in front of a cemetery—colorful, chaotic and overpopulated, much like Tijuana itself. A stray dog laps



Shooting the scene Cast and crew in Tijuana on the set of Baja Films' *Eagles Fly Alone*

water from a vase of wilted flowers beside a tomb. Many victims of the drug killings are buried here. Graffiti slashed across a marble headstone serves as a final insult from a gloating enemy.

Amid the tombstones stands Mexican film director Enrique Murillo, shooting a scene in which a suave drug runner howls for revenge as he collapses on the grave of his murdered girlfriend. "This is a violent tale with hot women and plenty of heart," Murillo says, grinning. These themes are typical of Tijuana's film industry, which produces quickie movies celebrating the fast and furious lives of the drug lords. The most successful venture, Baja Films, can crank out a \$20,000 movie in two weeks and market it throughout Mexico and to the huge Hispanic market in the U.S. Since the mid-'90s, Baja has produced over 130 films, a mini-Hollywood of tackiness and violence.

"We usually kill off about 50 guys," says Murillo. In the film he is shooting, the hero dies, and along the way, the audience gets to revel in the glamorous life of a drug runner who outwits and

outguns the cops until the very end. Mario Valenzuela, who plays the villain, shrugs off accusations by the Mexican government and press that these films glorify the drug cartels. He says, "Violence is as much a part of our daily life as bread."

The action shifts to a junkyard in the ravines outside Tijuana. A gleaming white Dodge arrives, and its brawny driver hands the keys over to Baja Films producer Oscar Lopez. "He's one of the real ones," whispers a film crewman, nodding to the driver. It's not unusual, says Lopez, for actual drug traffickers to demand cameos in these films, lend their flashy cars or open their many homes in Tijuana for location shoots. It confers a kind of fugitive celebrity. "We were invited to a mansion that had everything—lawns, swimming pool, fountains, even a tiger," recalls Lopez. "We were allowed to film everywhere except the basement. The guy tells me, 'If you go into the basement, I'll have to kill you. And I'm not kidding. I really will have to kill you.' So we stayed away from the basement." Whether aboveground or below, Tijuana has more than its share of dangers.





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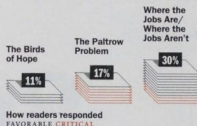
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Inbox



I'll Believe It When I See It

Re "Where the Jobs Are" [Jan. 17]: Congress should consider changing the workweek from 40 hours, as established about 100 years ago, to 35 or 36 hours. This would spread available hourly work among more people, and companies could adjust scheduling to avoid overtime payments.

Dale M. Smith, BURLINGTON, N.C.

Money for America's human and physical infrastructure has traditionally come from the very wealthy through taxes. But after decades of tax reductions for this population, money is no longer available for teachers and firemen, road and bridge workers and hundreds of other jobs. So while the rich ride high, the nation as a whole sinks.

James M. Ridgway Jr., TUCSON, ARIZ.

I really want to believe employment is finally growing again. But I have three degrees and work three jobs to make ends meet. I work with similarly educated people who are restaurant hosts or hostesses, are retail-store managers or are unemployed. I see companies threatening cutbacks and older workers pressured to leave jobs so younger, less costly workers can be hired. I want to believe; I am just not seeing it where I live.

David Coffin, ADA, OHIO

Jobs: The Hard Truths

Thanks to Zachary Karabell for the first realistic analysis I have read regarding the current job situation in this country ["Where the Jobs Aren't," Jan. 17]. Of course outsourcing has been responsible for the loss of many jobs. The only way we will get back to an acceptable unemployment rate is to develop new industries at home.

Herman Behrend, COATESVILLE, PA.

Karabell accurately identifies the problem of unemployment as a structural and not a cyclical one and points out our denial

and inability to confront it. In addition to maintaining cutting-edge infrastructure and excellent education, the U.S. can compete by granting federal, state and local tax incentives to enterprises in exchange for the creation of good jobs with benefits and the production of quality goods. With this and other policies, we can bring manufacturing jobs back.

Luis Baerga-Duprey,
GUAYNABO, P.R.

Reviewer, Reviewed

I suspect I am not the only reader who could not care less about whether Gwyneth Paltrow aspires to be Oprah or what she

SOUND OFF

'I'm not even a particular fan of Paltrow's, but what a mean-spirited piece! Did Pols just get up on the wrong side of the bed?'

Ellen Hetzler, NEWARK, DEL., on
"The Paltrow Problem," Jan. 17



posts on her personal website or whether I'm good enough for her ["The Paltrow Problem," Jan. 17]. Mary Pols clearly does care very much about these things, which created rather strange reading. It did not help me much in deciding whether to spend my money on this movie or some other.

Robert Altiero, SARASOTA, FLA.

Is this supposed to be a review? It opens and closes with material relevant to *Country Strong* to mask what it really amounts to: a personal attack on the actress.

Kerry Fore, OCEANSIDE, CALIF.

We are bombarded daily with the antics of Lindsay, Snooki and the Kardashians. If the talented, gracious, intelligent Paltrow is not America's Sweetheart, she should be.

Jane Manning, NORRIDGE, ILL.

The Power of Painful Images

My compliments on your efforts to keep the Afghanistan conflict in front of the American public ["The Birds of Hope: With a Black Hawk Medevac Unit in Afghanistan," Jan. 17]. If more national media outlets followed your lead and put these scenes, so ably presented by James Nachtwey, on daily news programs, the silent majority would again come to life and put an end to this loss of American blood and treasure in a fruitless and wasteful effort.

Bryce Sanders, CLARKSVILLE, TENN.

This piece touched me more than any other TIME essay. Tears flowed down my face. And I continued to stare into the eyes of the Marine who had lost his legs. I could see his pain; I felt it. Sometimes it is easy to forget that our service members are over there fighting for our freedom every day while we enjoy the rewards. Thank you for showing our true heroes.

Bethany Tonguis, DESTIN, FLA.



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Briefing

THE WORLD WASHINGTON LAB REPORT VERBATIM MILESTONES



The Moment

I|I9|II: Washington

the U.S. capital as part of a four-day state visit. So they do. But as China's spectacular economic rise has gathered pace, it has been natural for many to believe that the two nations are so interconnected (U.S. consumers need products built in Chinese workshops, which need U.S. consumers) that they will always move beyond any momentary disputes. That view has changed some of late. The U.S. looks suspiciously at a China that is flexing its muscles, while China sees in the U.S. a place whose economic confidence has taken a pounding. But the two nations will indeed get along if they take Obama's words and tweak them slightly. Each country has *many* cultures and *many* histories, not one. Neither country is a monolith. The U.S.—Hu should know—is not defined just by business leaders or just by human-rights activists. And China—Obama should realize—is more than the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army. It is useful to remember that. —MICHAEL ELLIOTT

"WE COME FROM VERY DIFFERENT CULTURES WITH VERY different histories," said Barack Obama during a press conference with China's President Hu Jintao, who was in

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Jean-Claude Duvalier, who left Haiti in 1986, received a mixed reaction on his arrival

1 | Haiti

A Brutal Dictator Returns

Former Haitian dictator Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier unexpectedly returned to Port-au-Prince after almost 25 years in exile. But he was soon detained and formally charged with corruption and embezzlement stemming from his 15-year reign of terror that ended after a popular uprising in 1986. Duvalier is accused of ordering the kidnapping and murder of thousands of political opponents during his time in power. Yet the former strongman retains some support, and his visit coincided with an ongoing dispute over the results of the recent presidential election, prompting suspicion about his motives. Haiti is still trying to recover from last year's devastating earthquake.

2 | Nigeria

Shoot-to-Kill Orders Issued

The army gave its soldiers permission to shoot to kill after a Christian mob attacked Muslims who were preparing to register voters for April's presidential election. Residents of the city of Jos were warned that the army would fire on anyone engaging in violence or attempting to destroy a church or mosque. The area, on the fault line between Hausa Muslims and Berom Christians, has been a flash point of violence for years. A series of bombings and killings since late last year has left at least 100 dead. Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, has suffered additional setbacks in registering some 70 million people for April's election.



Elmer, right, at a London press conference with Assange

3 | London

New Cache of Swiss WikiLeaks

Rudolf Elmer, a former Swiss-bank executive turned whistle-blower, gave WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange two computer disks that he said contain details of more than 2,000 individuals and companies (including some 40 politicians and other "pillars of society") that evaded income taxes through offshore banking. On Jan. 19, Swiss police arrested Elmer, who for eight years ran Caribbean operations for Julius Baer, one of Switzerland's top private banks, on charges of breaching bank secrecy laws.



4 | Lebanon

Hariri Inquiry Deepens Crisis

Heads of state from Turkey, Syria and Qatar met in an attempt to defuse growing tensions in

Lebanon after the radical Shi'ite party Hizballah scuttled the nation's coalition government. Hizballah members are likely to be named as suspects by a U.N. tribunal investigating the 2005 assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri. The prosecutor in the case issued a sealed indictment Jan. 17 to a judge. But it may take as long as eight weeks until the names of the accused are revealed, which would occur only if the case went to trial.

5 | Washington

Health Care Returns To Congress

The new Republican majority in the House of Representatives voted to repeal the landmark health care reform law enacted last year, arguing that the legislation was too costly and "job killing." The long-anticipated move was as symbolic as it was unsurprising, since the Democratic-controlled Senate is not expected to follow suit. But a full repeal is not the only potential threat to the Affordable Care Act. House Republicans plan to chip away at the law, many of whose provisions—including those that would expand coverage to some 30 million currently uninsured Americans—won't take effect for several years. Elsewhere, legal challenges across the country are making it likely that the Supreme Court could eventually address the constitutionality of the law.



Numbers: **44%**

Percentage of the police force in crime-ridden Camden, N.J., laid off because of budget cuts

31

oz. Size of Starbucks' new Trenta iced-drink option; it will surpass Venti as the chain's biggest cup size



6 | Brazil

DEADLY RAINS The death toll from the floods and mudslides that recently hit southeastern Brazil—resulting in one of the worst natural disasters in the country's history—surpassed 700 and was expected to rise. Rescue workers continued to dig out bodies, and authorities warned residents of more landslides to come. The destruction, wreaked by heavy rains and exacerbated by inadequate planning, has left thousands homeless.

7 | Iraq

Bombings Target Iraqi Forces

A trio of bomb attacks, two of which were directed at Iraqi police, renewed fears that Sunni extremists may escalate efforts to undermine confidence in security forces ahead of the U.S.'s Dec. 31 withdrawal. In the first incident, a bomber in Tikrit blew himself up in a crowd of police recruits, killing at least 60. The next day, an ambulance exploded outside a training center in nearby Diyala province; at least 13 died. In a third, unrelated attack, a man blew himself up in Diyala near a convoy of a top provincial official, killing two.



The remains of a bombed police-training center

8 | Yemen

Radical Cleric Sentenced

A Yemeni court sentenced U.S.-born militant cleric Anwar al-Awlaki in absentia to 10 years in prison for incitement to murder and belonging to a terrorist group. Officials in the U.S. and Yemen say al-Awlaki, who is in hiding, is in league with al-Qaeda and has inspired jihadists through his fiery Internet sermons. Many Yemenis see the verdict as a bid to placate the U.S. and boost efforts to capture al-Awlaki, who is on the CIA's targeted-kill list.

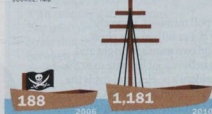
9 | Somalia

Piracy Worse than Ever

Despite the presence of a fleet of international warships in the waters off Somalia, pirate attacks reached record levels in 2010, according to the International Maritime Bureau. The IMB reported 445 attacks, the vast majority linked to Somali pirates, many of whom evade the foreign navies patrolling the Gulf of Aden by traveling farther into the Indian Ocean aboard retrofitted "mother ships." By some measures, piracy costs the global economy up to \$12 billion a year.

Number of crew members taken hostage worldwide

SOURCE: IMB



10 | Italy

Silvio's Sex Scandal

Prosecutors in Milan alleged that Premier Silvio Berlusconi engaged in sex with a "significant" number of prostitutes, a charge he denies. The Milanese inquiry, which is aimed at determining whether the 74-year-old paid to have sex with a 17-year-old Moroccan girl during a party at his villa last year, has shaken his already fragile grip on power. Prostitution is not illegal in Italy, but exploiting or aiding prostitution with a minor is.



75%

Percentage of time that is taken up by socializing, recreation and sleeping during American students' first two years of college; only 7% is used for studying

\$30

Price of Comcast's acquisition of NBC Universal from GE; the deal was approved by the FCC on Jan. 18

Washington

The Politics Page



The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

Why is the 2012 race starting so slowly?

No one is in a hurry to jump in because there isn't a strong-armed front runner threatening to squash the rest of the pack the way George W. Bush did in 2000. None of the hopefuls want the scrutiny or expense that goes with becoming an official candidate. And no one but the most fervent activists and hyperpolitical reporters is itching to get another election under way.

Is the field already being winnowed?

Right now seven contenders have the best shot at the GOP nomination. They fall into two brackets: the Fox News analysts (Sarah Palin, Mike Huckabee and Newt Gingrich) and the traditionalists (Mitt Romney, Haley Barbour, Tim Pawlenty and Mitch Daniels). Barring surprises, Romney, Pawlenty and Gingrich are sure bets to join the fray. But it is impossible to know what the others will do. In top GOP circles, the smart money is that Barbour gets in and vies with Romney to be the Establishment favorite, while Palin, Huckabee and Daniels take a pass, for reasons personal, financial and sundry. Daniels' aides insist he is giving it a serious look.

Is Obama beatable?

Sure. Even with his surging poll numbers, powerful Tucson moment and chance at a \$1 billion war chest, Obama is vulnerable. Focus on two numbers: eight and 105. Sharpies in both parties believe a jobless rate over 8% would be a barrier to the President's re-election; 105 is the number of electoral votes Obama won in 2008 in Colorado, Florida, Indiana, North Carolina, Ohio, Virginia and Wisconsin—all of which could shift to the GOP column unless he improves his standing with women and independents. Losing those states could leave him short of the 270 electoral votes he will need for four more years.

CONGRESS

Playing Chicken With the Debt Limit

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

For House Republicans, voting to repeal health care reform was easy. But a more important—and far trickier—confrontation is brewing between the House GOP and the Obama White House. Although the stakes are huge, neither side is quite sure how to play its cards.

In late March, the U.S. government will hit its legal debt limit, which takes an act of Congress to increase. Obama officials (and many economists) insist we have to extend our national credit line to fund a deficit-running government, lest the global financial markets panic about a U.S. debt default—a “catastrophic” outcome, as Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner warned. But many conservative Republicans who campaigned on adamant antidebt promises are saying, Hell, no—at least not without deep spending cuts that Democrats refuse to make. Now the issue is coloring the 2012 presidential campaign, as several potential candidates, including former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and former Minnesota governor Tim Pawlenty, have come out against raising the debt without slashing billions of dollars

in spending at the same time.

Both parties are trying to figure out who has the most leverage—and the most to lose if they miscalculate. The GOP will hammer Obama as a reckless free spender. Democrats are encouraged by the memory of the 1995 budget fight between House Republicans (then led by Gingrich) and Bill Clinton, which led to a government shutdown. Clinton, who came off looking more responsible than Gingrich, used the showdown to turn around his presidency. Encouraged by this history, Obama may look to frame the debate to his advantage in the Jan. 25

State of the Union address. “It will be brinksmanship,” says a senior House Democratic aide. “I’m trying to think this through myself.”

But Republicans argue that they hold far more cards today, thanks to a debt far larger—and far more alarming to the public—than it was 16 years ago. They will seek to attach perhaps as much as tens of billions of dollars in spending cuts—an amount they’d be unlikely to slip through the regular budget process—to any bill boosting Uncle Sam’s IOU account. “If they want us to help pay their bills, we’re going to cut up their credit card,” says Michael Steel, a spokesman for House Speaker John Boehner. And if Obama balks at the cuts? “We’ll see.”

\$14.3 TRILLION

Current U.S. debt ceiling



Pawlenty, far left, and Gingrich oppose raising the debt limit unless billions of dollars in spending are cut

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY WES STOKELL FOR TIME; PAWLENTY: BILL CLARK—HOLL. CALLED/GETTY IMAGES; GINGRICH: GUY LAW/GETTY IMAGES

Lab Report

Health, Science and Medicine



Caloric colossus As more cities mandate calorie counts on menus at fast-food chains, health experts hope consumers will start eating healthier

OBESITY

Menu Labeling Can't Change Eating Behavior

WITH MORE AMERICANS EATING OUT and growing increasingly obese, several city and state governments are trying to help people eat healthier by forcing fast-food restaurants to divulge nutritional information on their menus. The idea is simple: putting calorie and fat counts on display should prompt consumers to opt for healthier, lighter fare.

But it turns out that eating habits die hard, according to a new study involving the Taco Time fast-food chain in Washington State. Researchers found that adding calorie counts to restaurant menus had no impact on diners' choices. Similar studies in New York City have recently reported conflicting results; some surveys showed that menu labeling led to fewer calories purchased, but others found no difference in meal selection.

Researchers are not discouraged by the results, however, noting that providing nutritional and calorie information on menus may still benefit consumers indirectly. As more local authorities mandate such changes, food vendors are pre-emptively modifying their menus to both lighten existing options and add healthier foods.

E-HEALTH

Electronic health systems have tremendous potential to deliver care more efficiently and cost-effectively. At least that's what proponents of electronic health records and e-prescribing argue. But a new study shows that digitizing medical care has not improved patient outcomes or saved money, at least not yet. To show such benefits, longer-term studies of the health technologies' impact may be needed.

TEEN BEHAVIOR

How Video Games May Contribute to Mental Illness

OBSESSIVELY PLAYING VIDEO games isn't the healthiest way for a teen to spend an afternoon, but new research suggests that parents of "addicted" gamers may now have a more long-term concern: mental illness.

A two-year study of over 3,000 elementary and middle-school students in Singapore sheds light on the associations between personality, gaming and future mental disorders. Researchers found that students with impulsive personalities and less empathy or social skills were more likely to become pathological gamers to start, logging an average of 31 hours each week on their consoles, compared with 19 hours a week for other students. Addicted gamers also tended to be more aggressive and antisocial.

But more disturbingly, these pathological gamers were at higher risk of developing conditions such as depression, anxiety and social phobia two years later. The study's results highlight the long-lasting influence of excessive video-game playing, say the authors, and counter the popular belief among physicians that some teens play as a way to cope with existing mental issues. The latest results demonstrate that the relationship between gaming and mental health may be more complicated, with mental disorders being both contributors to and consequences of video-game dependence.

FROM THE LABS

Finding New Ways To Fight Bedbugs

AS BEDBUGS CONTINUE TO stage their cringemaking comeback across the U.S., researchers have completed the first comprehensive study of the pest's genes. The analysis revealed chunks of DNA coding for pesticide resistance and may lead to new ways of controlling the critters without using the same toxic options, like DDT, employed in the past.



Fetal Stem-Cell Transplants

CORRECTING BLOOD-BASED congenital disorders like sickle-cell disease may soon be possible with in utero stem-cell transplants. In a study of mice, scientists showed that an expectant mother's immune system regulates the fetus's immune system as well, so introducing the mom's blood stem cells into the developing baby in the womb could improve the chances that the baby would accept, not reject, those cells.

DRUNKS DIVORCE MORE

It's no secret that alcoholism can have a negative impact on marriage, leading to separation and divorce. Now research shows that the effects of problem drinking on relationships can begin even before the vows. In a study of more than 5,000 twins, those who drank heavily were more likely to marry later and have shorter marriages than those who didn't drink.

DATA SET

70%

Percentage of people over 50 who avoid colonoscopies because they fear the procedure

53%

Percentage increase in survival among heart-attack victims who receive a new form of CPR that stimulates circulation



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Verbatim

'Some people have said that if I ran for re-election, it would be a difficult campaign ... It probably would be.'

JOE LIEBERMAN, Connecticut Senator, announcing that he will retire in 2012—but not for fear of losing his seat

'It is the same logic by which the superpowers continue the possession of the nuclear weapons.'

KALYAN BANERJEE, an Indian virologist, on efforts by the U.S. and Russia to fight the establishment of a deadline to destroy the last known stocks of smallpox. The two countries argue that the deadly virus is needed for research to combat bioterrorism

'I don't think it's their fault ... They've got to be hurting ... as much as anybody.'

MARK KELLY, NASA astronaut and husband of Arizona Representative Gabrielle Giffords, saying he would meet with the parents of Giffords' accused shooter, Jared Loughner

'Hollywood and its power brokers hate a rebel. It is a place of groupthink and almost terminal political correctness.'

QUENTIN LETTS, British journalist, commenting on comedian Ricky Gervais' controversial Golden Globes monologue. Many called Gervais' celebrity jokes mean-spirited

'We now face a reconstruction task of postwar proportions.'

ANNA BLIGH, premier of Queensland, Australia, on the ravages of floods that have affected thousands of homes since December

'Due to the excess weight, it could not accomplish its mission.'

JOSE ANGEL MENDOZA, police commander in Bucaramanga, Colombia, after authorities captured a carrier pigeon that was being used to smuggle a 1.6-oz. (45 g) drug package into a prison

'I think it was the ugliest haircut I've ever seen.'

JENNIFER ANISTON, on the Rachel, a layered hairstyle—much mimicked by American women—made famous by the actress on the '90s hit sitcom *Friends*



TALKING HEADS

Matt Zoller Seitz

Reacting to the Parents Television Council's calling *Skins*—a remake of a scandalous British teen drama—"dangerous," on *Salon*:

"I have yet to witness a scenario in either [version] that I didn't personally fantasize about ... when I was the same age as the teens that comprise this program's target demographic ... If I were that age again in 2011, I'd probably watch *Skins* religiously for a couple of seasons, then get bored and move on. The series would have been absorbing, silly, sexy and trashy no matter what critics said about it. The fact that it's officially considered Bad for Kids makes it awesome." —1/18/11

DeWayne Wickham

Praising Obama's decision to ease the rules on sending money from the U.S. to Cuba, in *USA Today*:

"What the ban effectively has done is reward the families of the white Cubans who disproportionately immigrate to the USA while punishing the families of black Cubans who have largely remained in Cuba ... Obama's new policy makes it possible for [aid] to find its way into the homes of many more black Cubans ... And that's a good thing." —1/18/11

Jonah Goldberg

Downplaying talk of China's rise, in the *Los Angeles Times*:

"China has 700 [million] very poor people. By 2050, it will have 400 million very old people ... The country is shot through with corruption, bogus accounting practices that make subprime mortgage bundles look like gold bullion, and a political elite that remains terrified of democracy. A confident government doesn't banish its Nobel Peace Prize winners." —1/18/11

PHOTO TOP: RICHARD BRYAN; AP; LYNN PUGHMAN/TIME; A LIFE PICTURE; GETTY IMAGES; RALPH PIERCE—AGE NEWS/PAUL SHINKWINTER; NICK/PAUL RICHARD KENDALL; GETTY IMAGES; CARL N. SZOZ/AGE NEWS/PAUL SHINKWINTER; GETTY IMAGES

Milestones



Sargent Shriver

DIED SARGENT SHRIVER, WHO died Jan. 18 at 95, was one of America's most creative social inventors since Benjamin Franklin. He was the founding director of the Peace Corps, worked with his wife Eunice Kennedy Shriver at the Special Olympics and led President Johnson's War on Poverty. In addition, he leaves as a lasting legacy Head Start, Job Corps,

VISTA, Foster Grandparents and Legal Services.

Sarge was even an optimist. Once, a newsman asked him, "Do you really think poverty can be ended?" Those of us who knew him well were not surprised by his confident answer: "Yes, I do!" Sarge played a key part in John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign; he helped persuade Kennedy to make a crucial call to Coretta

Scott King when her husband was in jail and after the election conducted a talent search for the "brightest and best" to fill Administration posts. In 1972 he was asked to be the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, and he sought the presidency in 1976.

Sarge was the most inventive, empowering and inspiring person I've ever known, and the most fun. For his colleagues, his name became an active verb—to *Shriverize* was to be fast and bold. Put any major problem in front of him, and the needle on his compass pointed to the common good. Those are qualities we sorely need now in our public life. Sargent Shriver embodied them and made them contagious. —HARRIS WOFFORD

Wofford was special assistant to President Kennedy for civil rights and a U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania from 1991 to 1995



Reince Priebus

ELECTED SOME OF US have the bad fortune to follow in the footsteps of giants. Reince Priebus had the benefit of succeeding Michael Steele.

On Jan. 14 the Republican National Committee (RNC) tapped Priebus, 38, to be its new chairman. And while his predecessor set a low bar, he also

bequeaths a tarnished brand. Steele's uneven stewardship, which left the RNC mired in drama and debt, prompted many donors to forgo the party's traditional fundraising arm this cycle in favor of funneling their cash to outlets like the Republican Governors Association or outside groups like American Crossroads.

Priebus may seem an unlikely pick to resurrect the RNC, not least because he served a stint as one of Steele's top lieutenants. But the former Wisconsin GOP chair campaigned as a diligent, low-key leader who would sidestep the spotlight and tighten the screws at an organization that has lately lapsed into chaos and profligacy. After raking in \$14 million in Wisconsin, he hopes to raise \$400 million to help unseat Barack Obama in 2012.

Priebus has long had the political bug (as a teen, he took his future bride to a political banquet for the couple's first date) and as a young lawyer quickly climbed the rungs of the Republican ladder, serving as a legislative aide and local leader before taking the reins in the Badger State, where the GOP notched victories in Senate and gubernatorial races in November.

He says he is more interested in retiring the RNC's more than \$20 million debt and burnishing the group's credibility than serving as a flashy figurehead during his two years at the helm. But Priebus will also need to cushion inevitable collisions between the party's social conservative, Establishment and Tea Party factions. Not being Michael Steele is a start, but it's only that. —ALEX ALTMAN

ELECTED France's extreme-right National Front Party chose Marine Le Pen, 42, to succeed her father as its leader. Taking charge ahead of the country's next presidential election, she aims to broaden the appeal of the anti-immigrant party founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen nearly 40 years ago.

RETIRING Regis Philbin, who set the Guinness world record for most hours on camera back in 2004, announced that he would retire from *Live! With Regis and Kelly* later this year. "There is a time that everything must come to an end for certain people on camera, especially certain old people," said Philbin, 79.

Susannah York

DIED In 1961—before her Oscar nomination for *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*, before she appeared in *Tom Jones*, *A Man for All Seasons*, *The Killing* of Sister George and Robert Altman's *Images* and before she thrice played Superman's mom—TIME noted that Susannah York (then just 22) was already "an expert actress." York died Jan. 15 at 72. —ALEXANDRA SILVER





Zachary

Karabell

Big Bad Bankers. It's Wall Street vs. Main Street redux as the financial world tries to move beyond the crisis

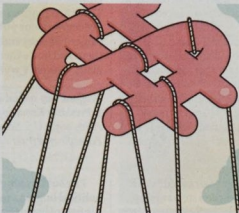
BANKS ARE BACK. JPMORGAN CHASE recently announced that it earned \$4.8 billion in the fourth quarter of 2010, nearly 50% over the previous year. Its CEO, Jamie Dimon, said he hoped the bank would soon return to paying meaningful dividends to shareholders, having all but suspended them in 2008. Meanwhile, in Britain, Barclays chief Bob Diamond received a thrashing in a parliamentary debate over bonuses after he declared, "There was a period of remorse and apology for banks. I think that period needs to be over." He'll likely pocket about \$13 million this year, thanks in part to the tidy profit Barclays made from the remnant of Lehman Brothers it purchased for pennies on the dollar.

Goldman Sachs employees won't go hungry either. The bank's fourth-quarter earnings may have been hurt by weak trading results, but it is still hugely profitable. Like many other Wall Street firms, Goldman responded to public outrage over its billions in profits by adopting a lower profile when it comes to bonuses, instructing its executives to take more of their pay in deferred stock grants rather than cash and conducting internal reviews (the result of one such 63-page tome can be abbreviated to "We didn't really do anything wrong"). Nonetheless, these institutions are still minting money. In one day alone, Wall Street announced two massive multimillion-dollar deals: Duke Energy's plan to buy Progress Energy for \$13.7 billion and DuPont's \$6 billion purchase of Danish company Danisco. And though

Barclays chief Bob Diamond received a thrashing in a recent debate over bonuses after he declared that the time for banker's remorse was over

Citibank disappointed expectations in its recent results, no need to shed tears: it still managed to earn \$1.3 billion in the last three months of 2010.

There is nothing inherently wrong with large banks making large profits. Yet the news from Wall Street is attracting the ire of Main Street, which continues to struggle. Witness the hoopla over Goldman Sachs' Facebook private offering,



which would have allowed its wealthiest clients to buy shares of the firm before the general public could. (The bank has since pulled the offering in the U.S.)

What's amazing is that Goldman such an offering would provoke. While everyone else struggles, banks have been in a privileged position, benefiting from interest rates on short-term interbank loans (the mother's milk of all banking transactions) of nearly zero and long-term rates above 3% plus fees. Because a functioning banking system is as essential to modern society as power plants and water, banks have been given every advantage by government.

They have not, however, responded in kind. They have not aggressively lent money. Instead, they have hoarded capital. They have done so to pay for legal fees and for defaults on mortgages and credit cards. Though loans have increased in recent months, it's after an unprecedented period

of contraction. Credit remains tight.

The goal is not to return to the obscenely loose credit standards that fueled the housing bubble, but large banks are now tilting to the other extreme. Part of the problem is that the regulations designed to prevent a repeat of the crisis of 2008—including demands for much higher capital reserves, instituted as part of the Basel accords last summer—have incentivized banks to reduce risk, increase their reserves and tighten lending standards. Instead of taking the government bailouts and then bolstering a weak economy by lending to creditworthy individuals and businesses, banks bolstered their own weak balance sheets.

On the flip side, the regulations do little to remove systemic risk. Last July, to much fanfare, President Obama signed the Dodd-Frank bill. "Because of this law," declared Obama, "the American people will never again be asked to foot the bill for Wall Street's mistakes ... If a large financial institution should ever fail, this reform gives us the ability to wind it down without endangering the broader economy."

Fair enough, but not true. The failure of so many small banks means the large banks have become even bigger and harder to unwind. Three firms alone—Bank of America, JPMorgan Chase and Citibank—now control as much as 30% of all deposits in the U.S.

The bottom line is that the financial reforms of the past year need to be revisited. One solution would be to break up large banks into discrete parts, creating a new Wall Street of boutique banks without as many conflicts of interest. If we aren't prepared to do that (and there's a good chance we aren't, given the likely cuts in pay and staff that would impede regulators and other public-sector workers), we need to create incentives and mandates to lend. Period. It would have been easy to make those part of the bailouts of 2008 and 2009; now it will require carrots like allowing banks more latitude in accounting for bad loans. That will be seen as extending another hand to already flush banks. Unfortunately, it may be a price we need to pay. ■



Joe

Klein

Hillary's Next Step. Will she become the first female Secretary of Defense or stay in the State Department?

THE MOST DAUNTING PIECE OF REAL estate in modern American politics is any podium right after Bill Clinton has relinquished it. The guy is on fire these days, freed from the constraints of elective office and the shackles of the prepared text. And so no one who attended the memorial service for master diplomat Richard Holbrooke envied the lot of Hillary Clinton, who had to follow her husband to the podium and conclude a program that Holbrooke—a fervent connoisseur of speechifying, especially about himself—would have loved. She had to do this jet-lagged out of her skull, having just returned from an intense six-day swirl through the Middle East, and after delivering a monster speech about China that morning at the State Department.

She more than held her own. If a bit more formally than her husband; she is, after all, the nation's highest ranking diplomat these days. But she was a stalwart friend and defender of Holbrooke's, and she communicated her appreciation elegantly. She was also extremely funny—an underused weapon in her arsenal—describing the infamous Holbrookian persistence: "He would follow me onto a stage as I was about to give a speech, or into my hotel room, or on at least one occasion, into a ladies' room in Pakistan."

All of which started me thinking once more about Hillary Clinton's character and career trajectory. She is one of those politicians you can actually watch grow in office. She begins each new assignment quietly, studying the territory, making a

few mistakes along the way, but then she gradually gains control of her portfolio and masters it. This was true of her stint on the Senate Armed Services Committee: the most forbidding panjandrums of the uniformed military came to respect her expertise, especially David Petraeus, a particular favorite of hers. It was also true of her presidential campaign, in which she started off stiff and wound up kicking



back whiskey shots in steelworker taverns, a woman of the people.

And it's certainly true now, as Secretary of State. She began the assignment with some well-acknowledged skills. After her globe-trotting years as First Lady, she knew how to be an effective public diplomat. But she still had a lot to learn about diplomatic strategy and negotiation. She made mistakes and still does on occasion. (Her Middle East trip was marred by her statement that Jared Lee Loughner was "an extremist.") But her confidence has grown, and her public statements are sharper. Indeed, she has—belatedly—emerged as the Obama Administration's leading voice on human rights. During the week that ended with the Holbrooke memorial, she told the leaders of the Middle East that their countries were "sinking into the sand" by not moving toward democratic reforms (a timely message given the upheaval in Tunisia). And then, in a particularly gutsy moment, she lamented, "The

longer China represses freedom... the longer that Nobel Prize winners' empty chairs in Oslo will remain a symbol of a great nation's unrealized potential." (She was referring to China's refusal to allow the imprisoned Liu Xiaobo to accept the Nobel Peace Prize.)

There is talk now that Clinton's next step will be to slide over to the Pentagon and replace Robert Gates, who is expected to resign as Secretary of Defense later this year. It would, in some ways, be a natural progression for her. It would be another first—the first woman SecDef. It would be an extremely valuable credential if she chooses to run for President in

2016. She certainly has the respect of the military and knowledge of the issues.


I think it would be a bad move, though, for two reasons. The first is that the Secretary of Defense is going to have a lousy, nuts-and-bolts job over the next few years, very much caught up in budget cuts and fighting the military-industrial-congressional complex. There are other candidates better suited to do this. John Hamre, a former deputy secretary, knows the Pentagon's innards as well as anyone. CIA Director Leon Panetta

may be best suited of all, with his real-time knowledge of our national-security problems and his history as a fervent budget cutter in Congress and as Bill Clinton's budget director.

But there is a more important reason Clinton should stay at State. "Diplomacy saves lives," Bill Clinton said in his eulogy. "In the end, what matters [about Holbrooke] is that there are a lot of people walking around on the face of the earth" because of his diplomatic triumphs. Hillary Clinton's stature lends gravitas to the work of diplomacy, an art that was denigrated during Bush the Younger's first term and remains sorely undervalued now. As the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq wind down, as relationships from China to Pakistan to Iran fester, this is the moment for diplomacy to be restored to center stage, as senior partner to our military might. That was Holbrooke's obsession. It should be her legacy. ■

Hillary begins each new assignment quietly, studying the territory, but then she gradually gains control of her portfolio and masters it





Too much to bear
A protester is overwhelmed during an antigovernment demonstration

WORLD

Tunisia's Nervous Neighbors Watch the Jasmine Revolution

The Arab world ponders the lessons of its first successful popular uprising

BY VIVIENNE WALT/TUNIS

Photograph by Remi Ochlik—Bureau233/Polaris

NO BOMB EXPLODED ANNOUNCING the start of the Jasmine Revolution, and in the end, there was no iconic figure—no Nelson Mandela or Vaclav Havel—to declare its stunning victory. Instead, the fuse for the Arab world's first successful popular uprising was lit when a small-town Tunisian policewoman slapped a fruit seller. A trivial incident, but this is 2011. And so, what happened next went viral, unleashing the seething frustrations of a generation of Tunisians raised under a sclerotic dictatorship—and rocking all of North Africa.

When the police officer slapped computer-science graduate Mohammed Bouazizi, 26, in the town of Sidi Bouzid, ordering him to pack up his street cart, the young man snapped. Unable to find any work as a computer technician, Bouazizi sold fruit to support his seven siblings, and the slap was one humiliation too many. He marched to the governor's office and demanded an appointment, threatening to set himself alight if the official did not meet him. Turned away, Bouazizi carried out his macabre threat on Dec. 17.

With his death 18 days later, millions of angry young Tunisians had a martyr. Their frustration had been mounting in recent years as the unwritten compact their parents' generation had made with President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali—economic opportunity in exchange for political freedoms—had come undone. Youth unemployment, as well as inflation, had soared, and the regime had grown ever more corrupt. Bouazizi's suicide “was the drop of water which made the whole cup overflow,” says Tunisia's widely popular rapper El Général, whose enraged lyrics prompted the government to ban YouTube in a futile attempt to quell the protests. “Our parents are too busy trying to feed our families,” he says. “But we youth had nothing to fear.”

The four-week revolt leaped from town to town until it engulfed Tunis. El Général's song “Rais Elbled” (“President of the Republic”) became the protesters' anthem, with thousands in the streets belting out its angry lyrics: “Mr. President, your people are dying.” The Jasmine Revolution, named for the national flower, needed no leaders to rally the protesters or organize the demonstrations. Instead, the revolt was refueled by a steady stream of anonymous text messages, Twitter and Facebook updates. Documents posted on WikiLeaks, in which U.S. diplomats cataloged the corruption at the highest levels of government, deepened the rage. Mobile-

phone videos posted online documented the government's brutal response, including the police beatings and the shooting of some of the 100 or so protesters who died.

By the time I landed in Tunis on Jan. 14, the protests had reached the doorstep of Ben Ali for the first time in his 23 years in power. I walked into the evacuated heart of the capital under choking clouds of tear gas. Avenue Habib Bourguiba, modeled on Paris' Champs-Élysées, was cordoned off by tanks and armored trucks. The detritus of the revolt crunched under my feet. There were bottle shards and bits of clay from smashed flowerpots, used by protesters as ordnance, and hundreds of shoes, abandoned as folks fled the police assault on the latest demonstration. Despite the show of strength, however, Ben Ali was already mortally weakened. Just the evening before, he had appeared on state television and offered to give up power in 2014, when the next presidential election is due.

But his 10.5 million subjects already sensed that liberation was at hand. “The next morning we had our usual staff meeting, and everyone said, ‘We need to speak out, no matter what,’” recalls Noureddine Boutan, director of Tunisia's biggest music station, Mosaïque FM, which had never previously dared to criticize the President. “We went on air and said, ‘The dictatorship is over.’” And so it was. Within hours, Ben Ali had fled the country, leaving behind a nation in turmoil.

The Nervous Neighbors

WHATEVER HAPPENS NEXT, TUNISIA IS already the stuff of history. Revolution is rare in the Arab world, which has for the most part remained untouched by democratic movements and economic change. Its authoritarian leaders, many of whom have been around at least as long as Ben Ali, have employed military force or oppressive policing to keep change at bay. A succession of damning nationwide reports by the

U.N. Development Programme, compiled by Arab scholars and intellectuals, show a region seemingly mired in darkness: population levels are soaring just as education standards and economic opportunities are diminishing. But while frustration has continued to grow in Arab streets, there has been no equivalent of the “people power” revolutions that have overthrown dictators in places from the Philippines and Indonesia through Eastern Europe and Latin America—or for that matter, the proliferation of multiparty elections that have occurred in sub-Saharan Africa. On Jan. 13, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, in an unusually frank speech in Doha, Qatar, warned that the foundations of the Arab world were “sinking into the sand.”

Then Ben Ali sank.

The Jasmine Revolution unfolded on live television before an Arab audience—THANK YOU AL-JAZEERA, read one banner at one demonstration—that could hardly have failed to grasp its significance. Bouazizi's martyrdom inspired several copycat immolations in Algeria and at least one each in Mauritania and Egypt. In Algeria, where protests by jobless youths predated those in Tunisia, there were attempts to replicate the Jasmine Revolution's use of social networks and YouTube. Arab commentators wondered which tyrant might follow Ben Ali into exile in Saudi Arabia: Libya's Muammar Gaddafi? Egypt's Hosni Mubarak?

Some of Ben Ali's erstwhile peers were plainly rattled. The rulers of Jordan, Egypt and Yemen announced measures to bring down prices of food and fuel, apparently to quell disquiet among their populations. Others lashed out. In a TV address, Gaddafi portrayed Tunisia's revolutionaries as impetuous and impatient youths who had brought chaos upon themselves. “Tunisia now lives in fear,” he said, betraying his own anxiety. “Families could be...slaughtered in their bedroom or citizens in the street as if it were the Bolshevik or American Revolution.” In Sudan, the authorities jailed opposition figures who talked of launching their own Tunisia-inspired protests. The unspoken message: Revolution is dangerous. Don't try this at home.

Since the Jasmine Revolution had been leaderless, chaos was its inevitable aftermath. Ben Ali's chosen successor as President lasted a single day, and the one installed after him couldn't keep his “national unity” Cabinet united for even a week. Gun battles between the military and die-hard Ben Ali loyalists continued sporadically, and Islamists demanded a

The Jasmine Revolution marks the first time an Arab strongman has been brought down by a popular uprising



Scenes from a revolution

A Ben Ali banner is torn in Tunis; rioters fight back against his loyalists; protesters demand that members of his party be ejected from the new government



say in government. Relieved to be rid of their past, Tunisians were not yet sure of their future.

The Little Dictatorship That Could

POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY IS A NEW EXPERIENCE for most Tunisians. Ben Ali's regime was nothing if not predictable. And for a long time, it had also seemed progressive. Ben Ali had been a model dictator. For the first two decades of his rule, he built up Tunisia's education system, protected women's rights and stamped out Islamic radicalism. Unlike many other Arab countries, Tunisia has compulsory free education until age 16, and more than one-third of high school graduates attend a university. To Western eyes, Tunisians seemed freer, more liberal than their neighbors. Few women wore veils, for instance.

Since Tunisia lacked the oil riches of so many other Arab states, Ben Ali promoted tourism instead: Europeans flocked to Tunisia's Mediterranean beaches (where there was no taboo on bikinis) and Carthaginian and Roman ruins. Tunisia's small population meant it was not hard to keep the economy growing 5% a year, much faster than the rate of any of its neighbors. Tunisia's per capita income of about \$8,000 is one of the highest in North Africa.

In exchange for all this, the dictator expected his people not to mind very much that he suppressed any opposition and muzzled the media—or that his family got a disproportionate share of the economic pie. Compared with the dire poverty in much of Africa, it seemed a fair deal. If his subjects didn't protest, neither did his allies in the West. France was relieved that he kept the economy ticking, since it meant that fewer Tunisians would try to sneak into French territory. The U.S. was pleased to have a staunch anti-Islamist running things in Tunis while al-Qaeda's North African franchise made inroads in Algeria and Morocco.

When I last visited Tunisia, in 2007, to describe its success for *TIME*, then-Minister of Development and International Cooperation Mohamed Nouri Jouini told me he had returned home from

Oregon after Ben Ali's bloodless coup in 1987 convinced him that Tunisia would boom. It did. About 86% of people in Tunisia own their homes—about the same rate as in Europe. Microsoft, Pfizer, L'Oréal and other multinational companies set up large Tunisian operations, lured in part by the country's favored trading status with the European Union, a short boat ride away. In a 2007 ranking of 131 countries by the World Bank and World Economic Forum, Tunisia was seen as having the best economic prospects in Africa and the third best in the Arab world. I asked Jouini if he worried that Tunisians would grow weary of their political restrictions and one day challenge the system, but he dismissed the question, saying, "People are conscious of [the government's] achievements and want to keep them."

But when the global economy slowed in 2008, those achievements began to shrink in the eyes of Tunisians. The job market quickly dried up. Ben Ali's education policies were producing tens of thousands of qualified young men and women every year, but now many faced the prospect of long unemployment. About 25% of youths in Tunisia are believed to be unemployed, roughly the same proportion as in neighboring Algeria. But unlike Algeria—and Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries—Tunisia has no huge natural resources to cushion a severe downturn. And unlike China, it is too small to diversify at high speed, and its main earners, such as tourism and olive-oil exports, are ill suited to create high-paying jobs.

Faced with dismal prospects, previous generations would have left for Europe, joining the millions of Tunisian migrants already there. But the E.U. has drastically tightened its immigration laws, and its labor market now includes millions of Poles, Romanians and other Eastern Europeans who will do low-paying jobs that were once the domain of North Africans. "With the closure of European borders, the youth felt trapped," says Moncef Marzouki, an opposition leader who returned to Tunis on Jan. 18 after many years of exile in Paris. Without that escape route, he says, young Tunisians "had no choice. They had to fight."

And they used the one weapon they understood much better than the regime: the Internet. With nothing but time on their hands, many unemployed Tunisians—smart, multilingual and wired—were already spending hours a day on Facebook and other social networks. They had long since figured out ways to evade the government's crude firewalls. After Bouazizi set

himself alight, they put their online skills to use. "We were downloading all sorts of videos about Ben Ali's regime from YouTube, via proxies, and putting them on Facebook," says Rima Aloulou, 26, an unemployed civil engineer. "After two or three days, the government would shut it down. We did it again. It was like a war," she says. The young cyberactivists easily made state television and radio stations irrelevant—and were able for the first time in 23 years to undermine the regime's propaganda. "The youth didn't buy the lies, like our generation," says Mounir Khélifa, an English professor at the University of Tunis. When Ben Ali announced on television on Jan. 13 that the police were no longer shooting live bullets at demonstrators, Khélifa was inclined to believe him. But his son, 26, persuaded him otherwise, saying, "Dad, wake up. The information is out there."

Burning Down the House

ANGER QUICKLY FOCUSED ON THE VERY things that in better times Tunisians were prepared to overlook. The greed and corruption of the First Family were now intolerable. Protesters lambasted Ben Ali's second wife Leila Trabelsi, a former hairdresser who accumulated vast wealth as First Lady and bestowed lavish gifts on her numerous relatives; she has 10 siblings. About half of Tunisia's businesses—including a bank, hotels, a property-development firm and the two biggest newspaper companies—are in the names of the extended family. The distributorships of Porsche, Volkswagen, Kia and Alfa Romeo cars all belonged to Ben Ali's son-in-law Sakher El Materi. His lavish lifestyle was the subject of a 2009 diplomatic cable, acquired by WikiLeaks, in which the then-U.S. ambassador, Robert Goode, warned State Department officials that the ruling family's excesses could lead to the regime's collapse. Goode described a sumptuous dinner at El Materi's home, where the young tycoon pressed the ambassador to help him acquire the McDonald's franchise for Tunisia and where the ice cream and frozen yogurt had been flown in from St.-Tropez, France, on his host's private plane. The household pets included a caged tiger named Pasha, which reminded Goode of Uday Hussein's caged lion in Baghdad.

Such details fanned the protesters' fury, and the First Family's assets bore the brunt of their wrath: their homes in the seaside suburb La Marsa, close to Hannibal's ancient city of Carthage, were looted. After the dictator fled, many Tunisians flocked to La Marsa to see how his family had lived, filing through the grand houses

in evident wonderment. I walked into a sprawling two-story mansion with a panoramic sea view, whose airy living room opened onto a large pool deck with an outdoor shower and a mosaic fresco of frolicking dolphins. An elevator led to a Jacuzzi and several bedrooms upstairs. The resident of this idyllic place was Adel Trabelsi, whose schoolteacher's salary was probably about \$300 a month but for whom money was no object because he is the nephew of the erstwhile First Lady. The house was burned by protesters on Jan. 14; now incredulous locals were snapping photographs of themselves amid the wreckage. Across Tunis, luxury cars once sold by El Materi had been smashed and burned.

Ben Ali and his family face indefinite exile; some members of the First Family are believed to have fled to Paris, where



PHOTO: GETTY IMAGES/ALAN TAN



Tools to take down a tyrant *Spontaneous rallies, like this one in Tunis, and online images and videos helped topple Ben Ali*

they are huddled in a hotel near Disneyland. Might they be joined by the First Families of other North African dictatorships? Like Ben Ali's Tunisia, Algeria and Libya have aging tyrants in Abdelaziz Bouteflika and Gaddafi, as well as a growing population of young unemployed. But while Tunisia might inspire hope in the hearts of the oppressed, it will also likely steel the resolve of the oppressors. "The Tunisian thing is going to remind people that things are possible," says Fouad Hikmat of the International Crisis Group, when asked if a similar uprising could break out in Sudan. "But if anything like this moves people onto the street, the government will try to block it with force."

Deployed for years as U.N. peacekeepers in Africa, Tunisian soldiers opted not to side with their President against the peo-

ple. The army's chief of staff, General Rachid Ammar, reportedly refused Ben Ali's order to fire on protesters—the Presidential Guard and security police had no such compunction—and has become a hero to many Tunisians. The youth in Morocco and Algeria who have demonstrated in recent weeks against rising food and fuel prices might not be able to count on similar restraint from the military forces there.

And Tunisia may not seem worth emulating if the chaos that has followed Ben Ali's departure continues. Islamists, long shut out by the dictator, have thronged the streets, demanding that their banned party be allowed to join the coalition government. Protesters are also raging against the continued presence of Ben Ali's acolytes in the government. Three trade-union leaders who joined the Cabinet

have since resigned. If political upheaval continues, there are fears that the military may take over, a narrative depressingly familiar in the Arab world.

For the moment, however, Tunisians are still inhaling the Jasmine Revolution's intoxicating scent of possibility. In cafés and restaurants, people gather for open discussion of politics and pore over uncensored newspapers—unthinkable under Ben Ali. Khélifa, who studied British Romantic poetry at Yale University, says that for days he has been repeating two lines from William Wordsworth's *Prelude*, written in the aftermath of the French Revolution: "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive./ But to be young was very heaven!" At least for now. —WITH REPORTING BY RANA FOROOHAR/NEW YORK AND ALAN BOSWELL/JUBA, SUDAN ■

The China Hand. Can Timothy Geithner prevent a trade war between the U.S. and China?

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

TIMOTHY GEITHNER was sitting in his spacious Treasury Department office overlooking the White House earlier this month, mulling the U.S.'s sometimes testy relationship with China. The view wasn't great: China was flexing its military muscles, sticking to a hard line on the valuation of its currency and generally making everyone in Washington jump as the state visit by President Hu Jintao approached. Is a trade war possible? Geithner was asked. "A very low probability," he replied, "and I think it's completely avoidable."

But not impossible, he could have added—and with good reason. War is to be avoided, but the threat of war can be useful. The job of the Treasury Secretary is chiefly that of a horse whisperer, to tame skittish financial markets by talking sweetly, if sometimes obliquely, into their ears. But as the U.S. has become a debtor nation (and is likely to remain one for a while), the Treasury Secretary must also tame creditors, of which the most significant right now is a communist government in Beijing. Some-

times that means talking softly; other times it means raising your voice.

Over the past two years, Geithner has been President Barack Obama's top go-between with China on economic matters, the man responsible for mollifying both restive voters nervous about China's rise and the country that now holds \$900 billion in American debt. On Jan. 19 in Washington, Obama and Hu held a full day of talks with each other and with top U.S.

and Chinese business leaders and went out of their way to celebrate relatively modest progress on disputes over trade and access to each other's markets. But the summit served as much to underscore both governments' uncertainty about whether the U.S., for 70 years the world's dominant military and economic power, can accommodate the reawakened and rapidly growing Chinese behemoth. "Short of a terrorist nuclear attack against the United States," says Kenneth Lieberthal of the Brookings Institution, "managing the rise of China well is the single most consequential development for the U.S. over the coming 10 years."

Geithner, 49, might seem an unlikely choice for such a delicate assignment. During his tenure as Treasury Secretary, he has had more luck making policy than managing politics. But he is better suited to this task than he is widely understood to be. As a Dartmouth student in the early 1980s, he was among the first Americans invited to study in Beijing after the Cultural Revolution. "We were living in isolated foreign-student guesthouses, and the only other kids there

were North Koreans, East Europeans and West African socialists," Geithner recalls; there were no refrigerators, and few meals contained meat. Six years after Geithner studied there, his father Peter Geithner opened the Ford Foundation's first office in Beijing. Among those he funded was Wang Qishan, now the Vice Premier and his son's counterpart in the U.S.-China dialogue. Wang's connection to the Geithners "created a common ground," says Peter Geithner, and helped develop "a rapport which is beneficial to both countries." Other senior Chinese officials funded by Peter Geithner include Zhou Xiaochuan, the current head of the central bank.

Timothy Geithner picked up a basic understanding of Mandarin along the way, and though he relies on



'The only other kids there were North Koreans, East Europeans and West African socialists.'

—TIMOTHY GEITHNER, ON STUDYING IN BEIJING IN THE EARLY 1980S





interpreters in key meetings, he sometimes lets his Chinese counterparts know he doesn't always need them. More critically, his strategy for managing the Chinese is to employ a "receding horizon" approach, pushing them to meet U.S. demands on currency valuation, intellectual-property protection and opening Chinese markets to U.S. goods, then setting new goals once those are met. It's a technique he learned from the Chinese.

At home, meanwhile, Geithner sometimes must resort to a more American style of negotiation: bluster. He took a tougher line on China's currency in the middle of the midterm-election campaign, calling its currency policy "unfair," partly because organized labor and Tea Party backers alike complained that

Don't go away *Treasury bosses have traditionally had to manage America's financial markets; Geithner must also manage its creditors*

Beijing was walking all over the U.S. No one complained louder than New York Senator Charles Schumer. The two men sometimes descend into shouting matches over China policy, according to some familiar with the conversations. Schumer accuses Geithner of not being serious enough about pressuring China. Geithner tells Schumer he's playing politics with a dangerous issue. But even Schumer's threats can be helpful. "We tell the Chinese that the election makes

things worse," says a senior U.S. official.

That may have the virtue of being true. Traditionally, some Democrats have supported protectionist tariffs against countries that manipulate their currencies, like those in a House bill that nearly passed the Senate in the final days of the lame-duck session. But increasingly, some Republicans, such as South Carolina's Lindsey Graham and Maine's Olympia Snowe, do too. And businesses are growing impatient to get a level playing field with Chinese competitors. Says one corporate lobbyist: "Like Congress, the business community is changing."

Geithner believes the Chinese will eventually allow their currency to fluctuate freely against the dollar, which some economists

think would help make U.S. exports more competitive and hence drive growth. He thinks central-bank chief Zhou and Vice Premier Wang know such an adjustment is inevitable but are afraid of getting isolated inside China's shifting power structure. While in India last year, Geithner got a call from the Chinese requesting an urgent in-person meeting. Why not just use the telephone? Wang was concerned about being overheard, says one person familiar with the conversations. Geithner flew to Beijing to meet Wang at the airport.

The incident is a reminder that it will take a skilled whisperer to prevent U.S.-Chinese relations from souring. New tariffs aimed at punishing Chinese currency manipulation are possible in the new Congress—Schumer has already introduced a measure—and politicians tied to powerful state-owned industries in China are looking for a reason to start a trade war. As Geithner puts it, "I don't believe you can tell other people what their interests are." Influencing the internal debates in the U.S. and China will be hard enough; reconciling them will be even harder. ■

Mitt Hits the Road Again

Since finishing behind John McCain in 2008, Mitt Romney has been quietly preparing for his second chance. Can the multimillionaire build a team and find a message for 2012?

BY MICHAEL SCHERER/STRATHAM

ONCE MORE, WILLARD MITT Romney looked great, and not just because of his rugged jawline, which showed no sign of slackening, or his thick blow-dry, which had gone more gray in just the right places. No, there was something else, a feeling in the air as he moved through his adoptive state—where else? New Hampshire—which so harshly rebuked him in the 2008 Republican primary by choosing John McCain.

It was four days before the 2010 mid-term elections, and Romney was making the Granite State rounds. People applauded him for just walking into a room. At the neocolonial estate of one wealthy contributor, the former Massachusetts governor glided from handshake to handshake, delighted to see so many he called “old friends,” while the new ones lined up to snap pictures. “This is New Hampshire,” Romney remarked in the childlike way of a candidate at work, who often must say something and nothing at the same time. “This is just an extraordinary place.”

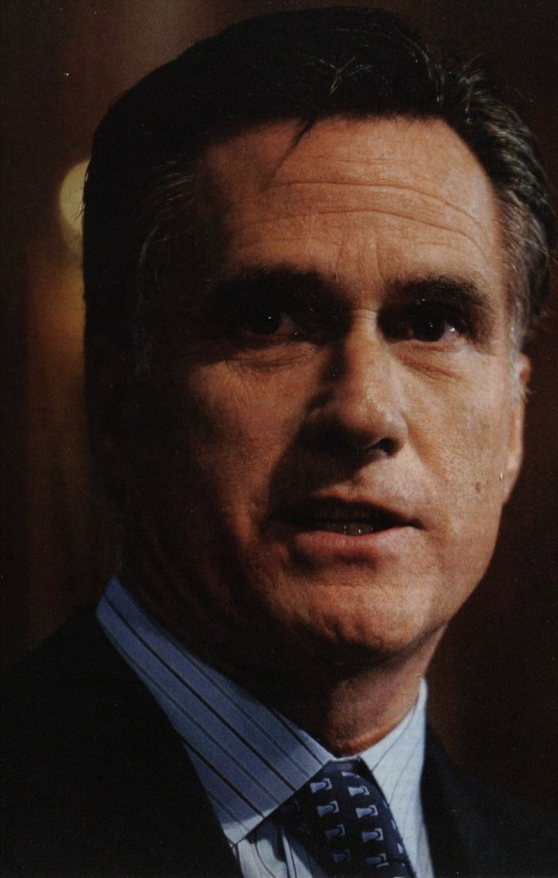
This was also Romney in his element, or at least that's the hope of many in his inner circle. As the toll of the opening bell for the 2012 presidential campaign nears, Romney finds himself as the closest thing to a Republican front runner, leading the very early polls, well positioned as a business ace in an age of unemployment,

with an unmatched fundraising base and a clear shot at capitalizing on the GOP's habit of nominating the guy who lost last time. He has retooled his political operation and honed his message. What no one knows for sure, however, is whether he has gotten any better at getting people to actually vote for him.

But we are jumping ahead of ourselves. Romney is, if you can believe his aides, not officially running for anything. Rather, he arrived at this fundraiser, the last stop on a 32-state, 129-event coach-class barnstorm of the country, having quietly given away more than \$1 million in 2010 while other potential 2012 contenders spent time trading sound bites on Fox News. His aides claimed this was the final act of an altruistic epic that began just weeks after Barack Obama won the White House. Romney gathered his team at his home outside Boston to share a scrapbook filled with thank-you notes from people he met on the trail. “We literally passed it around like the gold telephone in *The Godfather*,” remembers one participant.

In Romneyland, the scrapbook is very important, because it's used by aides to disprove the charge that Romney has been running nonstop since 2008. As they tell it, it was all those cards and letters that convinced Romney, who spent \$44 million of his own money in 2008, to write another book and hit the road. After all, no one likes a permanent candidate, especially

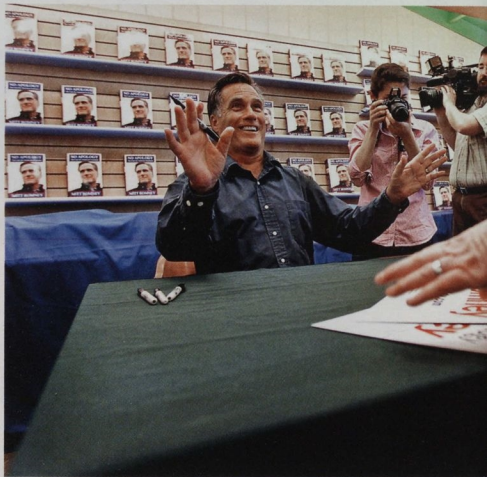
Turnaround artist Romney's aides say his second campaign for the White House, if it happens, will be built for speed. His first was not



one with millions to spare. "I don't think he intended to run again," insists Stuart Stevens, a former strategist for George W. Bush and John McCain who has become one of Romney's top political advisers. "If things were going well in the country, I really do not think he would be running. I can almost guarantee you that."

It's more accurate to say that Romney's 2008 effort never really closed up shop. A close reading of his Federal Election Commission reports shows the careful bequests to those who might be helpful to his presidential ambitions. He also has kept up a complex network of state-level political-action committees, which have allowed him to legally fund his movements around the country without triggering federal contribution limits. In recent months, Romney's intentions have become so clear that it's almost comical to deny them. (In the final week before the midterms, he visited Iowa, South Carolina and New Hampshire.) At his first two events in New Hampshire, his former state-level campaign strategists hovered in the back of the room, apparently ready to dive in. Soon after, supporters got the Romney-family Christmas card, which pictured the candidate with his wife and 14 of his 15 grandchildren, one of whom seemed to be crying. GUESS WHICH GRANDCHILD HEARD THAT PAPA MIGHT RUN AGAIN? ran the caption.

Meanwhile, Romney brought his skills as a turnaround artist to his own operation. In 2009 he sold two of his four multimillion-dollar homes, which had become political liabilities in this age of downsizing. At his 11-acre (4.5 hectare) estate in Wolfeboro, N.H., he continued to host brainstorming salons with political strategists, campaign donors and party insiders, discussing the state of the nation and trying to work out just what to do next. Even the story behind his story became a selling point. He commissioned a ghostwriter to help him with a book, but after receiving an opening chapter, he decided to write it himself. *No Apology: The Case for American Greatness* is focused largely on foreign policy—the issue set that, more than anything else, lost him the 2008 primaries to McCain. He reshuffled his advisers, promoting his old communications director, Matt Rhoades, and cutting ties with some of the consultants who had contributed to the divisions and confusion last time. In recent weeks, he resigned from the board of Marriot International and traveled to Afghanistan to both meet President Hamid Karzai and, as his office described it, "train Afghans" in issues like "leadership, public service, economic opportunity and democratic participation." Romney dodges any



admission of personal political motivation and was the only major candidate-in-waiting to decline to be interviewed for a recent Fox News 2012 election special.

The Health Care Complication

AIDES SAY ROMNEY LONG AGO DECIDED that his next campaign would start later, run smaller and run smarter, particularly when it comes to managing expectations. "Last time, Mitt's campaign was like IBM. This time, if he runs, he wants to be like JetBlue," says Eric Fehrnstrom, Romney's longtime adviser and spokesman. "Which is to say, more nimble and more efficient and ready to respond." Romney will likely benefit from a new primary calendar that limits the number of states that can hold winner-take-all contests before April 2012. That technical change will allow a candidate like Romney potentially to survive losses to populists like Sarah Palin in Iowa or Mike Huckabee in South Carolina. "Whereas before, Governor Romney had to play in the first handful of states," says Tim Albrecht, Romney's 2008 Iowa spokesman, who does not plan to reprise the role, "he has the ability to play in 30 or 40 states."

But then this is not the first time Romney has looked the part. And as his supporters well know, looks alone are not enough. "In any normal situation, he would be the winner hands down, following a few primary skirmishes, because he is the heir apparent," explains David Carney, a New Hampshire Republican strategist who has ties to Governor Rick Perry of Texas but so far remains uncommitted in 2012. "But we are probably in a new environment where that is not going to be worth very much."

The most damning indictment of Romney's 2008 campaign came from his archrival, former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee, who began telling a story to reporters a few weeks before he beat Romney in the Iowa caucuses. It was the tale of a wealthy man who opened a dog-food company, hiring the best nutritionist, the best marketing people and the best sales force in the industry. When the product was released to great fanfare, sales flagged, so the wealthy man gathered his staff and demanded to know why. "There was a long silence," Huckabee would say. "And then finally somebody in the back of the room said, 'Because the dogs won't eat the darn stuff, sir.'"



Don't call him front runner
Romney has quietly built a fundraising network in key states over the past two years

Throughout the 2008 cycle, Romney often appeared to approach the business of politics too much like a business

Throughout the 2008 cycle, Romney often appeared to approach the business of politics too much like a business—outmaneuvering opponents with positioning and polish when it was human factors like empathy and approachability that made up voters' minds. He too frequently seemed to take expedient positions, shifting on gay marriage, gun control and abortion at the most politically advantageous times; sunk huge sums into winning just about every early straw poll east of the Missouri River; and deployed his army of strapping sons and their spouses to blitz Iowa. He was dogged in delivering the political prose but struggled with the poetry. When people left his events, some campaign veterans will now admit, too often he had not closed the deal.

The test in 2012 is likely to be even more rigorous. "We are kind of in the era of true believers," says one prominent 2008 Romney supporter, who, like many in Romney's extended circle, asked to not be identified. "He will still need to overcome 'Is he genuine?'"

In the early months of the campaign, no issue is likely to dominate these discussions more than that of the similarities between Romney's health-reform plan in Massachusetts, which included a mandate that nearly all citizens buy health insurance, and the national plan pushed by Obama and despised by the GOP rank and file. Squaring this circle won't be easy. In a mid-November conference call with campaign donors, Romney argued that his reform did not raise taxes while Obama's did. It was a nuanced distinction, given the federal assistance that Romney depended on to pay for his state's plan. "I think it's kind of a cheap way out," says MIT economist Jonathan Gruber, a supporter of the Obama effort who advised Romney on health reform. "The only way we could do it without raising taxes was that the feds paid half the cost."

Romney also repeated the claim he has made since as far back as 2007: there is a big difference between a state-level mandate to purchase health insurance and a national one, which he considers both unconstitutional and unwise. "A one-size-fits-all national health care system is bound to fail," he said in August 2007 at a speech before the Florida Medical Association. "It ignores the very dramatic differences between states and relies on the Washington bureaucracy to manage." Such distinctions have already been rejected by some Tea Party leaders, but Romney aides say that health care was also an issue in the 2008 Republican primary debates. "We understand that there is more

heat on the issue now because of Obamacare," says Fehrnstrom. "But everybody brings their record to the race."

Unemployed and Conservative

AS THE CROWD GATHERED IN STRATHAM, N.H., Romney awaited his introduction by Frank Guinta, the mayor of nearby Manchester and now a newly elected Congressman, part of the incoming Republican wave. "We're pleased and honored to have him back in New Hampshire," Guinta said. "Although we have been seeing a lot of him lately." Folks started laughing, and Guinta quickly realized his mistake. "No, no," he stammered, "because he lives in Wolfeboro. There may be another reason. I don't know."

Why won't Romney just come out and say he wants to be President? He knows well the hazard of entering the process too early and becoming a target. So he has feigned confusion at what all the fuss is about. He has become practiced at this sort of false modesty, often telling the story of a phone call he placed to a corporate executive's secretary, who had asked for the name of Romney's company. "Well, I'm currently unemployed," he deadpans. Romney has decided he needs to show voters he doesn't take himself too seriously.

But on this day in Stratham, he knew that a national political reporter was lurking in the room, and while Romney would not grant an interview, an aide said the governor didn't mind previewing his take on President Obama. So he cut right into it, with the muscular language of a man who can get the conservative juices flowing. "There will be an abject and utter repudiation of Obamaism," he said.

Then came a blizzard of one-liners, all delivered to the room smoothly, without notes, describing the President as an ideologue who exploited economic crises for his own job-stifling agenda. In a few short minutes, Romney mentioned cap and trade, card check, the U.S. Constitution, the Founding Fathers, the spirit of free enterprise, the stimulus "that grew government," Obama's international "apologizing for America" and the President's leisurely penchant for golf, which, Romney made clear, he does not share. "This President and his fellow travelers in Washington fundamentally don't understand America," Romney said. "They don't understand what it is that makes this nation so successful, so powerful, so good."

He had the crowd hanging on every word, though it was always his crowd—well heeled, with name-tag stickers, juggling hors d'oeuvres and refreshments. This was still the pregame warm-up, after all. But Romney has been practicing. He has been doing his homework. Plainly, he is ready to try again. ■

The Roar of the Tiger Mom.

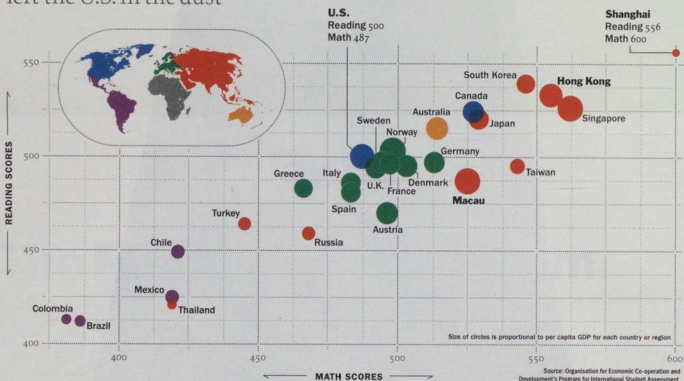
It was the “Little White Donkey” incident that pushed many readers over the edge. That’s the name of the piano tune that Amy Chua, Yale law professor and self-described “tiger mother,” forced her 7-year-old daughter Lulu to practice for hours on end—“right through dinner into the night,” with no breaks for water or even the bathroom, until at last Lulu learned to play the piece.>

By Annie Murphy Paul

Photo-Illustration by Jim Naughten for TIME



Test Patterns. In global testing, Shanghai and other parts of Asia left the U.S. in the dust



For other readers, it was Chua calling her older daughter Sophia “garbage” after the girl behaved disrespectfully—the same thing Chua had been called as a child by her strict Chinese father.

And, oh, yes, for some readers it was the card that young Lulu made for her mother’s birthday. “I don’t want this,” Chua announced, adding that she expected to receive a drawing that Lulu had “put some thought and effort into.” Throwing the card back at her daughter, she told her, “I deserve better than this. So I reject this.”

Even before *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, Chua’s proudly politically incorrect account of raising her children “the Chinese way,” arrived in bookstores Jan. 11, her parenting methods were the incredulous, indignant talk of every playground, supermarket and coffee shop. A prepublication excerpt in the *Wall Street Journal* (titled “Why Chinese Mothers Are Superior”) started the ferocious buzz; the online version has been read more than 1 million times and attracted more than 7,000 comments so far. When Chua appeared Jan. 11 on the *Today* show, the usually sunny host Meredith Vieira could hardly contain her contempt as she read aloud a sample of

viewer comments: “She’s a monster”; “The way she raised her kids is outrageous”; “Where is the love, the acceptance?”

Chua, a petite 48-year-old who carries off a short-skirted wardrobe that could easily be worn by her daughters (now 15 and 18), gave as good as she got. “To be perfectly honest, I know that a lot of Asian parents are secretly shocked and horrified by many aspects of Western parenting,” including “how much time Westerners allow their kids to waste—hours on Facebook and computer games—and in some ways, how poorly they prepare them for the future,” she told Vieira with a toss of her long hair. “It’s a tough world out there.”

Chua’s reports from the trenches of authoritarian parenthood are indeed disconcerting, even shocking, in their candid admission of maternal ruthlessness. Her book is a *Mommie Dearest* for the age of the memoir, when we tell tales on ourselves instead of our relatives. But there’s something else behind the intense reaction to *Tiger Mother*, which has shot to the top of best-seller lists even as it’s been denounced on the airwaves and the Internet. Though Chua was born and raised in the U.S., her invocation of what she describes as tradi-

tional “Chinese parenting” has hit hard at a national sore spot: our fears about losing ground to China and other rising powers and about adequately preparing our children to survive in the global economy. Her stories of never accepting a grade lower than an A, of insisting on hours of math and spelling drills and piano and violin practice each day (weekends and vacations included), of not allowing playdates or sleepovers or television or computer games or even school plays, for goodness’ sake, have left many readers outraged but also defensive. The tiger mother’s cubs are being raised to rule the world, the book clearly implies, while the offspring of “weak-willed,” “indulgent” Westerners are growing up ill equipped to compete in a fierce global marketplace.

One of those permissive American parents is Chua’s husband, Jed Rubenfeld (also a professor at Yale Law School). He makes the occasional cameo appearance in *Tiger Mother*, cast as the tenderhearted foil to Chua’s merciless taskmaster. When Rubenfeld protested Chua’s harangues over “The Little White Donkey,” for instance, Chua informed him that his older daughter Sophia could play the piece when she was Lulu’s age. Sophia and Lulu are different people,

Pop Quiz. Sizing up the U.S. and China

1. When did China become the **second largest** economy?

- (A) 2010
- (B) 2009
- (C) 2008
- (D) It hasn't yet

2. Since 1999 the proportion of researchers (out of all employed persons) in the U.S. has risen 8%. How much has the proportion of **researchers in China** increased?

- (A) 11%
- (B) 50%
- (C) 102%
- (D) 111%

3. In 1994, China's **secondary-school enrollment rate** was 48%. What is it now?

- (A) 65%
- (B) 96%
- (C) 51%
- (D) 76%

4. The average **trade balance** as a percentage of GDP in the U.S. is -6%. What is it in China?

- (A) -5%
- (B) Even
- (C) 7%
- (D) 14%

5. In 1995, China was 14th in the world in the **publication of science and engineering papers**. Where does it rank now?

- (A) 1st
- (B) 2nd
- (C) 3rd
- (D) 4th

6. In what year is China projected to overtake the U.S. in **number of patent applications**?

- (A) 2011
- (B) 2015
- (C) 2020
- (D) 2025

Sources: UNESCO; European-American Business Council; Thomson Reuters

ANSWERS: 1. A; 2. D; 3. B; 4. C; 5. B; 6. A

Rubinfeld remonstrated reasonably. "Oh, no, not this," Chua shot back, adopting a mocking tone: "Everyone is special in their special own way. Even losers are special in their own special way."

With a stroke of her razor-sharp pen, Chua has set a whole nation of parents to wondering: Are we the losers she's talking about?

AMERICANS HAVE AMPLE REASON TO wonder these days, starting with our distinctly loserish economy. Though experts have declared that the recent recession is now over, economic growth in the third quarter of 2010 was an anemic 2.6%, and many economists say unemployment will continue to hover above 9%. Part of the reason? Jobs outsourced to countries like Brazil, India and China. Our housing values have declined, our retirement and college funds have taken a beating, and we're too concerned with paying our monthly bills to save much, even if we had the will to change our ingrained consumerist ways. Meanwhile, in China, the economy is steaming along at more than 10% annual growth, and the country is running a \$252.4 billion trade

surplus with the U.S. China's government is pumping its new wealth right back into the country, building high-speed rail lines and opening new factories.

If our economy suffers by comparison with China's, so does our system of primary and secondary education. That became clear in December, when the latest test results from the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) were released. American students were mired in the middle: 17th in reading, 23rd in science and 31st in math—17th overall. For the first time since PISA began its rankings in 2000, students in Shanghai took the test—and they blew everyone else away, achieving a decisive first place in all three categories. When asked to account for the results, education experts produced a starkly simple explanation: Chinese students work harder, with more focus, for longer hours than American students do. It's true that students in boomtown Shanghai aren't representative of those in all of China, but when it comes to metrics like test scores, symbolism matters. Speaking on education in December, a sober President Obama noted in response that the U.S. has arrived at a "Sputnik moment": the humbling realization that an

other country is pulling ahead in a contest we'd become used to winning.

Such anxious ruminations seem to haunt much of our national commentary these days, even in the unlikelyst of contexts. When the National Football League postponed a Philadelphia Eagles game in advance of the late-December blizzard on the East Coast, outgoing Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell was left fuming: "We've become a nation of wusses," he declared on a radio program. "The Chinese are kicking our butt in everything. If this was in China, do you think the Chinese would have called off the game? People would have been marching down to the stadium. They would have walked, and they would have been doing calculus on the way down."

These national identity crises are nothing new. During the mid-20th century, we kept a jealous eye on the Soviets, obsessively monitoring their stores of missiles, their ranks of cosmonauts and even their teams of gymnasts, using these as an index of our own success (not to mention the prospects for our survival). In the 1980s, we fretted that Japan was besting us with its technological wizardry and clever product design—the iPod of the '80s was the Sony Walkman—and its investors' acquisitions of American name-brand companies and prime parcels of real estate.

Now the Soviet Union has dissolved into problem-plagued Russia, and our rivalry with the Japanese has faded as another one has taken its place: last year, China surpassed Japan as the world's second largest economy. The U.S. is still No. 1—but for how long? We're rapidly reaching the limit on how much money the federal government can borrow—and our single biggest creditor is China. How long, for that matter, can the beleaguered U.S. education system keep pace with a rapidly evolving and increasingly demanding global marketplace? Chinese students already have a longer school year than American pupils—and U.S. kids spend more time sitting in front of the TV than in the classroom.

The document that finally focused the nation's attention on these crucial questions was not a blue-ribbon study or a hefty government report, but a slender book that sprang from one mother's despair over her daughter's teenage rebellion.

AMY CHUA LIVES IN NEW HAVEN, Conn., in an imposing mock-Tudor mansion—complete with gargoyles—that was built in the 1920s for a vaudeville impresario. The woman who descends the winding stone stairway and opens the studded wooden door,

however, is wearing a sweatshirt, jeans and a friendly smile. As we take a seat in Chua's living room, the laughter of her older daughter Sophia and her boyfriend (yes, she's allowed to have a boyfriend) floats down from the second floor, and the fluffy white dog that Chua tried, and failed, to discipline stretches comfortably on the rug. (Disclosure: This reporter also lives in New Haven and has heard Chua regale friends with parenting stories.)

The first thing Chua wants you to know is that she is not a monster. "Everything I do as a mother builds on a foundation of love and compassion," she says. Love and compassion, plus punishingly high expectations: this is how Chua herself was raised. Though her parents are ethnically Chinese, they lived for many years in the Philippines and immigrated to America two years before Chua was born. Chua and her three younger sisters were required to speak Chinese at home; for each word of English they uttered, they received a whack with a pair of chopsticks. On the girls' report cards, only A's were acceptable. When Chua took her father to an awards assembly at which she received second prize, he was furious. "Never, ever disgrace me like that again," he told her.

Some react to an exceedingly strict household by becoming permissive parents, but not Chua. When she had children of her own, she resolved to raise them the same way. "I see my upbringing as a great success story," she says. "By disciplining me, my parents inculcated self-discipline. And by restricting my choices as a child, they gave me so many choices in my life as an adult. Because of what they did then, I get to do the work I love now." Chua's path to her profession was not a straight one—she tried out the premed track and a major in economics before settling on law school—but it was made possible, she says, by the work ethic her parents instilled.

All the same, Chua recognizes that her parents' attitudes were shaped by experiences very different from her own. Her mother and father endured severe hardship under the Japanese occupation of the Philippines; later they had to make their way in a new country and a new language. For them, security and stability were paramount. "They didn't think about children's happiness," Chua says. "They thought about preparing us for the future." But Chua says her children's happiness is her primary goal; her intense focus on achievement is simply, she says, "the vehicle" to help them find, as she has, genuine fulfillment in a life's work.

The second thing Chua wants you to know is that the hard-core parenting she



From left, Sophia, Amy and Lulu Chua at home. Lulu still plays the violin, but just for fun

50%

of single-race Asian Americans ages 25 and older hold at least a bachelor's degree, compared with 28% among all Americans

set out to do didn't work—not completely, anyway. "When my children were young, I was very cocky," Chua acknowledges. "I thought I could maintain total control. And in fact my first child, Sophia, was very compliant." Then came Lulu.

From the beginning, Chua's second daughter was nothing like her obedient sister. As a fetus, she kicked—hard. As an infant, she screamed for hours every night. And as a budding teenager she refused to get with her mother's academic and extra-curricular program. In particular, the two fought epic battles over violin practice: "all-out nuclear warfare" doesn't quite capture it," Chua writes. Finally, after a screaming, glass-smashing, very public showdown, the tiger mother admitted defeat: "Lulu," she said, "you win. It's over. We're giving



Surprisingly, Chua's daughters say they intend to be strict parents one day too—though they plan to permit the occasional sleepover

and Lulu, as long as they feel passionate about it and give it their best." As her girls prepare to launch themselves into their own lives—Sophia goes off to college next fall—Chua says she wouldn't change much about the way she raised them. Perhaps more surprising, her daughters say they intend to be strict parents one day too—though they plan to permit more time with friends, even the occasional sleepover.

Most surprising of all to Chua's detractors may be the fact that many elements of her approach are supported by research in psychology and cognitive science. Take, for example, her assertion that American parents go too far in insulating their children from discomfort and distress. Chinese parents, by contrast, she writes, "assume strength, not fragility, and as a result they behave very differently." In the 2008 book *A Nation of Wimps*, author Hara Estroff Marano, editor-at-large of *Psychology Today* magazine, marshals evidence that shows Chua is correct. "Research demonstrates that children who are protected from grappling with difficult tasks don't develop what psychologists call 'mastery experiences,'" Marano explains. "Kids who have this well-earned sense of mastery are more optimistic and decisive; they've learned that they're capable of overcoming adversity and achieving goals." Children who have never had to test their abilities, says Marano, grow into "emotionally brittle" young adults who are more vulnerable to anxiety and depression.

Another parenting practice with which Chua takes issue is Americans' habit, as she puts it, of "slathering praise on their kids for the lowest of tasks—drawing a squiggle or waving a stick." Westerners often laud their children as "talented" or "gifted," she says, while Asian parents highlight the importance of hard work. And in fact, research performed by Stanford psychologist Carol Dweck has found that the way parents offer approval affects the way children perform, even the way they feel about themselves.

Dweck has conducted studies with hundreds of students, mostly early adolescents, in which experimenters gave the subjects a set of difficult problems from an IQ test. Afterward, some of the young people were

praised for their ability: "You must be smart at this." Others were praised for their effort: "You must have worked really hard." The kids who were complimented on their intelligence were much more likely to turn down the opportunity to do a challenging new task that they could learn from. "They didn't want to do anything that could expose their deficiencies and call into question their talent," Dweck says. Ninety percent of the kids who were praised for their hard work, however, were eager to take on the demanding new exercise.

One more way in which the tiger mother's approach differs from that of her Western counterparts: her willingness to drill, baby, drill. When Sophia came in second on a multiplication speed test at school, Chua made her do 20 practice tests every night for a week, clocking her with a stopwatch. "Tenacious practice, practice, practice is crucial for excellence; rote repetition is underrated in America," she writes. In this, Chua is right, says Daniel Willingham, a professor of psychology at the University of Virginia. "It's virtually impossible to become proficient at a mental task without extensive practice," he notes.

What's more, Willingham says, "if you repeat the same task again and again, it will eventually become automatic. Your brain will literally change so that you can complete the task without thinking about it." Once this happens, the brain has made mental space for higher-order operations: for interpreting literary works, say, and not simply decoding their words; for exploring the emotional content of a piece of music, and not just playing the notes. Brain scans of experimental subjects who are asked to execute a sequence of movements, for example, show that as the sequence is repeated, the parts of the brain associated with motor skills become less active, allowing brain activity to shift to the areas associated with higher-level thinking and reflection.

Cognitive neuroscience, in other words, confirms the wisdom of what the tiger mother knew all along. "What Chinese parents understand," says Chua, "is that nothing is fun until you're good at it."

up the violin." Not long after, Chua typed the first words of her memoir—not as an exercise in maternal bravado but as an earnest attempt to understand her daughters, her parents and herself.

That was a year and a half ago. Today, Chua has worked out some surprising compromises with her children. Sophia can go out on dates and must practice the piano for an hour and a half each day instead of as many as six hours. Lulu is allowed to pursue her passion for tennis. (Her mother's daughter, she's become quite good at the sport, making the high school varsity team—"the only junior high school kid to do so," as Chua can't help pointing out.) And Chua says she doesn't want to script her children's futures. "I really don't have any particular career path in mind for Sophia

That may be an overstatement—but if being good at reading or math or music permits a greater degree of engagement and expressiveness, that would seem to be a very desirable thing.

ALL THAT SAID, HOWEVER, PSYCHOLOGISTS universally decry the use of threats and name calling—verbal weapons frequently deployed by Chua—as harmful to children's individual development and to the parent-child relationship. So just what does she have to say about the notorious episodes recounted in her book?

About "The Little White Donkey": she was perhaps too severe in enforcing long hours of practice, Chua says now. Still, she says, it was important for Sophia and Lulu to learn what they were capable of. "It might sound harsh, but kids really shouldn't be able to take the easy way out," she explains. "If a child has the experience, even once, of successfully doing something she didn't think she could do, that lesson will stick with her for the rest of her life." Recently, Chua says, Lulu told her that during a math test at school that day she had looked at a question and drawn a blank. "Lulu said, 'Then I heard your annoying voice in my head, saying, 'Keep thinking! I know you can do this'—and the answer just came to me!'"

On calling Sophia "garbage": "There are some things I did that I regret and wish I could change, and that's one of them," Chua says. But, she notes, her father used similar language with her, "and I knew it was because he thought well of me and was sure I could do better." Chua's parents are now in their 70s, and she says she feels nothing but love and respect for them: "We're a very tight family, all three generations of us, and I think that's because I was shown a firm hand and my kids were shown a firm hand."

And Lulu's birthday card? Chua stands by that one. "My girls know the difference between working hard on something and dashing something off," she says firmly. "They know that I treasure the drawings and poems they put effort into."

More than anything, it's Chua's maternal confidence—her striking lack of ambivalence about her choices as a parent—that has inspired both ire and awe among the many who have read her words. Since her book's publication, she says, e-mail messages have poured in from around the globe, some of them angry and even threatening but many of them wistful or grateful. "A lot of people have written to say that they wished their parents had pushed them when they were younger, that they think they could have done more with their

lives," Chua recounts. "Other people have said that after reading my book they finally understand their parents and why they did what they did. One man wrote that he sent his mother flowers and a note of thanks, and she called him up, weeping."

So should we all be following Chua's example? She wrote a memoir, not a manual. She does make it clear, however, that Chinese mothers don't have to be Chinese: "I know some Korean, Indian, Jamaican, Irish and Ghanaian parents who qualify too," she writes. The tiger-mother approach isn't an ethnicity but a philosophy: expect the best from your children, and don't settle for anything less.

Among those who are decidedly not following Chua's lead are many parents and educators in China. For educated urban Chinese parents, the trend is away from the strict traditional model and toward a more relaxed American style. Chinese authorities, meanwhile, are increasingly dissatisfied with the country's public education system, which has long been based on rote learning and memorization. They are looking to the West for inspiration—not least because they know they must produce more creative and innovative graduates to power the high-end economy they want to develop. The lesson here: depending on where you stand, there may always be an approach to child rearing that looks more appealing than the one you've got.

Marano doesn't see us whistling Chua's battle hymn just yet. "Kids can grow and thrive under a wide variety of parenting styles," she says. "But American parenting, at its best, combines ambitious expectations and a loving environment with a respect for each child's individual differences and a flexibility in parental roles and behavior. You can set high standards in your household and help your children meet them without resorting to the extreme measures Chua writes about." Western parents have their own highly effective strategies for promoting learning, such as free

play—something Chua never mentions. On a national scale, the U.S. economy may be taking a hit, but it has far from collapsed. American secondary education may be in crisis, but its higher education is the envy of the world—especially China. We have not stopped inventing and innovating, in Silicon Valley or in Detroit.

There's no doubt that Chua's methods are extreme (though her stories, she hints, may have been slightly exaggerated for effect). But her account, arriving just after those unnervingly high test scores from Shanghai, has created a rare opportunity. Sometimes it takes a dramatic intervention to get our attention. After the 1957 launch of Sputnik, America did rise to the Soviets' challenge: less than a year later, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act, which invested billions of dollars in the U.S. education system. Within five years, John Glenn was orbiting Earth, and less than a decade after that, we put a man on the moon.

Clare Boothe Luce, the American playwright, Congresswoman and ambassador, called the beeps emitted by Sputnik as it sailed through space "an intercontinental outer-space raspberry," a jeer at the notion that America had some "gilt-edged guarantee of national superiority." Think of *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* as a well-timed aimed at our own complacent sense of superiority, our belief that America will always come out on top. That won't be the case unless we make it so. We can get caught up in the provocative details of Chua's book (did she really threaten to burn her daughter's stuffed animals?), or we can use her larger point as an impetus to push ourselves forward, the way our countrymen often have in the past.

For though Chua hails the virtues of "the Chinese way," the story she tells is quintessentially American. It's the tale of an immigrant striver, determined to make a better life for himself and his family in a nation where such dreams are still possible. "I remember my father working every night until 3 in the morning; I remember him wearing the same pair of shoes for eight years," Chua says. "Knowing the sacrifices he and my mother made for us made me want to uphold the family name, to make my parents proud."

Hard work, persistence, no patience for excuses: whether Chinese or American, that sounds like a prescription for success with which it's very difficult to argue. ■

2,263

Number of institutions of higher learning in China, up from 1,022 a decade ago

Paul's latest book is *Origins: How the Nine Months Before Birth Shape the Rest of Our Lives*

Tiger Daughter. An American in Shanghai reports: I'm glad my kid has a tiger mom

By Bill Powell

I SAT IN OUR SUBURBAN HOME in Shanghai and read online the excerpt from Amy Chua's *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*. My reaction to it was straightforward: Maybe a little over the top, but, yeah, that's about right. My wife's reaction: "I guess I'm not the toughest Chinese mother after all."

Our daughter, age 6, is in first grade. She's bilingual (Mandarin and English). She takes violin and ballet lessons. And she does two to three hours of homework a night, seven days a week. She is not Superkid. The fluency in English excepted ("An accident of birth," I remind her every time she comes home boasting about acing her latest English quiz), she's a normal kid. Pretty much every other child in her class at her Chinese school does the same stuff.

American-passport holder Abby Cui-Powell, in other words, is living a typical Shanghai childhood. That doesn't mean all work and no fun. She goes out to play with the kids in our neighborhood. And she watches movies. In fact, one of the reasons Abby's English is so good is that she spends time watching *The Lion King* and *Toy Story*. That's more freedom than Chua's kids were allowed, according to her book.

Chua may be extreme in the discipline she tries to impose, even by Chinese standards. But where she is not extreme is in the intellectual and emotional underpinnings of *why* she does what she does. The most important assertion she makes in the piece, in my view, is this: "Chinese parents

assume strength, not fragility."

This is exactly right. The assumption undergirding my wife's attitude toward Abby's education at home is that life is tough, you have to be educated to get through it, and what we're doing is aimed toward that end. You may not like it very much now, but it'll be worth it.

So she takes the lead. My role is pretty much limited to English; I read to Abby often and help correct her spelling mistakes. Joyce does the heavy lifting. Each night, she drills Abby relentlessly in math and Chinese. (Joyce and I both were lousy in math as kids, so we're assuming that Abby's gene pool is missing a few chromosomes when it comes to numbers.) Sometimes Abby cries and mopes. But every single night, she does the work. If she gets it wrong, she does it over until she gets it right. And I see no evidence that she's turning into a tortured, malfunctioning kid.

Mind you, this is only first grade. The competitive pressure of the Shanghai school system intensifies as students get older and closer to the fateful college-entrance exam that determines which university they can attend. We had lunch recently with friends whose daughter, a 10th-grader in an elite high school here, is frequently up until midnight doing homework. "It's too much," her father said. "Something has to change." This attitude is growing among middle-class Chinese parents, and the government is looking at ways to foster more creative thinking in schools.

But what you'll never see



First-grader and math whiz in training Abby Cui-Powell

here is an adoption of what Chua calls the obsessive concern in the U.S. with a kid's self-esteem, which from my expatriate viewpoint has practically become a form of dementia among some parents: the Little Leagues in which they don't keep score, for example, lest the kids on the losing team get their feelings hurt.

There are things that are not quite right with Chua's piece. "What Chinese parents understand," she asserts, "is that nothing is fun until you're good at it." That's not only wrong, it's ridiculous. Kids—even Chinese kids!—enjoy sports at all levels, not just the

Olympics. Abby, unprompted, loved to draw from an early age, and like everyone else, she started with stick figures.

But the bottom line, to me, is the studies Chua cites reporting that Chinese parents spend approximately 10 times as long every day as Western parents "drilling academic activities." Even if it's only three times as long, that's still a lot. Whatever Chua's excesses—and don't worry, we don't call Abby "garbage" if she flubs a math problem—when it comes to a child's education, having a Chinese mother is a big advantage; I'm very glad my daughter has one.

+ CHECKLIST

Concussed Kids

A child's brain is a fragile thing, and too many are getting hurt

+ DR. OZ

Keeping It Safe

It's up to parents and coaches to know when a kid needs to sit it out

Headbanger Nation.

Concussions are clobbering U.S. kids. Here's why

BY JEFFREY KLUGER

I DIDN'T GET A GOOD LOOK AT THE little boy who injured my daughter in the science museum in Mexico City. He seemed to be about 7, my daughter Elisa was not yet 3, and the two of them were part of a scrum of kids playing on an indoor patio. At precisely the wrong moment, she turned left, he turned right, and they collided. Physics being physics, the smaller mass yielded to the larger one, and my daughter fell down. She landed first on her bottom, then tipped backward and hit her head on the floor.

The sound was one that parents dread: the singular clunk of skull striking cement. I winced, Elisa wailed, and I gathered her up. Soon she stopped crying and went off to play, but even as she did, a dangerous process had begun to unfold inside her skull.

When Elisa's head hit the floor, the deceleration was sudden, but—physics again—her brain stayed in motion for an instant, moving through the small intracranial space until it collided with the back of the inside of her skull. Concussive en-

ergy radiated through the tissue. As it did, channels in the neurons opened wide, allowing calcium ions to flow into the cells, depressing their ability to metabolize energy. Brain tissue began swelling, but with nowhere to go, it squeezed up against the skull wall. Shearing forces tore axons connecting the cells, damaging their myelin sheathing, which can disrupt nerve signals. All of that was the best-case scenario. The worst case was a brain bleed, which could be fatal without immediate surgery.

Within 20 minutes, Elisa grew withdrawn. An hour later, back in our hotel, she vomited and then began thrashing convulsively. We rushed her to a hospital, where doctors struggled to get a line into one of the tiny veins in her arm, shouting at her to stay awake.

"Open your eyes!" I shouted at her in English. "*Abre tus ojitos!*" my wife echoed. Elisa understood both languages; she answered in neither.

Finally, the doctors got her into a CT scanner, then administered an EEG. There

3.8 MILLION

Number of Americans who sustain concussions per year—and there may be untold others that go unreported



Photographs by Gregg Segal for TIME

was no bleeding, but there was swelling. Elisa spent three days in the hospital taking antiseizure and antismelling medication and finally was released. On the flight home, she was a terror—but only in the way a toddler is supposed to be.

For us, that was a first-time—and, we dearly hoped, last-time—experience, but we're hardly alone in having gone through it. In the U.S., concussions are an alarmingly commonplace injury, particularly among kids and most particularly among active, athletic ones. Up to 3.8 million Americans are getting concussed per year, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and even that big a figure is a moving target. In 2005, the number of children who visited emergency rooms for treatment of concussions was more than twice what it had been in 1997, according

to a new study in the journal *Pediatrics*. High school football players alone sustain 100,000 full-blown, diagnosed concussions per year. Flying under the radar are injuries mild enough to get passed off by coaches as a mere ding or ignored by players anxious to get back on the field.

According to a study by neuroscientist Kevin Guskiewicz of the University of North Carolina, the average college football player sustains a breathtaking 950 to 1,100 subconcussive blows per season—hits that are enough to do cumulative damage to young brain tissue but not enough to cause immediate symptoms. "There's what we call a dose response," Guskiewicz says. "After a certain number of hits, the damage starts to show."

But while football is responsible for more than half the concussions kids suf-

fer playing team sports, there's a lot more blame to go around. The success of Title IX, which forbids gender discrimination in scholastic athletics, has led to a 900% increase in girls' sports teams since the law's passage in 1972. But guaranteeing girls equal access to sports also guarantees them equal access to injuries. Girls' soccer accounts for nearly 12% of total team-sports concussions, compared with just 6.6% for boys' soccer. Girls' basketball causes 7%. Even volleyball weighs in at 1.1%.

What's more, a third of all concussions among kids are caused by nonteam activities such as ice skating, bicycling and playground recreation. Gaining fast too are newer head-cracking activities like snowboarding and extreme skateboarding. Kids may be the first group to fall in love with such sports, but they're the last group—neurologically speaking—that should engage in them.

"The immature brain is still developing," says Julian Bailes, a neurologist at West Virginia University and the medical director for the Pop Warner Youth Football program. "That makes it more susceptible to damage and more likely to suffer repetitive injury." How this shapes overall development is unknown. A child's brain is like a ship en route to somewhere: a concussion can blow it off course.

The severity of the damage—both acute and chronic—is what researchers are now trying to understand and what legislators and the sports-equipment industry are trying to control. Even as scientists look deeper into the physics, neurochemistry and genetics of brain injury, lawmakers are imposing new rules governing how kids should be assessed for concussions and when they should and should not be eligible to play. Equipment manufacturers, particularly those who make football helmets, are being pushed to redesign their product lines and reform the testing standards that essentially allow the industry to police itself. Pro teams too are feeling the heat for selling an elbow-throwing, stick-swinging, head-butting ethos that may be fine for millionaire athletes who know what they're getting into but is hurting, and in some cases killing, the kids who emulate them.

"I keep telling kids, Your brain is not your knee. It's not your shoulder. It's your future," says neuropsychologist Gerard Gioia, chief of pediatric neuropsychology at Children's National Medical Center in Washington. "We have to protect it better than we are."

The Science of a Hit

IF IT'S FOOTBALL THAT RECEIVES MOST OF the attention in conversations about concussions, it's partly because the hits

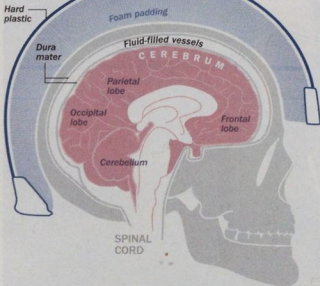
Concussion Physics. Simple laws of motion are behind a very complex injury

ROOM TO MOVE

The brain does not sit snugly in the skull but is set off by an intracranial space. Skull and brain thus don't move in tandem



FOOTBALL HELMET



SIMPLE CONCUSSION

Brain swelling, axonal damage and metabolic disruption lead to classic concussion symptoms

HEMATOMA

Damaged vessels can cause blood to collect above or below the dura, a much more serious injury than a simple concussion

FRACTURE

Uncommon for players wearing football helmets. A fracture can leave bone shards in the brain or otherwise damage soft tissue

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inflicted in the game can be so shocking. In soccer, basketball or even hockey, violence is typically a by-product of aggressive play. In football, it is the play. Guskiewicz conducts his studies by placing accelerometers in players' helmets and recording not just how often they get hit but also how hard. The unit of measure he uses is g-force. Liftoff of a Saturn V moon rocket exposed its crew to a maximum of four g's. A roller coaster may exceed six g's. College football players, by contrast, collide with each other with an impact of nearly 23 g's—and that's the average. Higher-end blows range from 85 to 100 g's. "The highest we ever recorded was 180 g's," says Guskiewicz.

Worse, it's not necessary to be hit in the head for that kind of impact to do concussive damage. A player struck in the chest can suffer whiplash just like a passenger in a car accident, and when the head snaps back and forth, the brain sloshes around with it. "One sign," says Gioia, "is when a player complains of neck pain. That's often an indicator that the head has moved around hard."

Many of those blows don't necessarily lead to a concussion, and in a way, that's unfortunate. Only about 10% of concussions lead to loss of consciousness, but the other signs are hard to miss, including headache, vomiting, dizziness, balance problems, sensitivity to light or noise, confusion, irritability and amnesia. A player with any of those symptoms is likely to be sent to the bench—at least for a while. A player whose brain has been jolted at a sub-concussive level is much likelier to stay on the field and return there week after week with no recuperation time. The damage that does can be deadly.

In April 2010, University of Pennsylvania football star Owen Thomas committed suicide in his off-campus apartment, having never before exhibited any sign of mental illness. When researchers at Boston University examined his brain, they found it flecked with what are called tau proteins, telltale signs of a condition known as chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), which is often seen among dementia patients and NFL players with

a lifetime of concussions behind them. Thomas had never sustained a concussion, but that might not have mattered.

"He'd been playing since he was 9," says neuropsychologist Robert Stern, part of the team that conducted the analysis. "That suggests he had a great deal of exposure to repeated subconcussive blows."

The link between tau and brain damage is straightforward. The protein is one of the major structural materials of nerve tissues. When the brain is shaken too hard, nerve fibers are torn and the tau is released. The brain tries to clean up the mess, and given enough time, it could. If the hits keep coming, however, the proteins just accumulate. "I describe [the tau deposits] as a form of sludge," says Bailes.

It's not unusual for players like Thomas suffering from CTE to die in violent or otherwise dramatic ways. Bailes was part of a team that found tau protein in the brain of Chris Henry, a player for the Cincinnati Bengals who was killed in 2009 when he got into an argument with his fiancée and jumped on the back of her pickup truck as she drove away—taking a fatal tumble onto the road. In 2007 wrestler Chris Benoit murdered his wife and son and then hanged himself. In 2004 former Pittsburgh Steeler Justin Strzelczyk, who suffered from hallucinations, died when he drove his car into a tractor trailer while fleeing police. Both Benoit and Strzelczyk had CTE. "This disease starts young and progresses through life," says Stern.

Until recently, doctors didn't know just how young, but they're getting an idea. Michael (not his real name) is a ninth-grade football player visiting an outpatient concussion clinic Gioia runs in Rockville, Md. Michael got clobbered in a game in mid-September, suffered many of the immediate concussion symptoms and four months later is still not well. Recovery time varies for all patients, though three months is a good benchmark; four months suggests trouble. Michael's sleep remains disturbed, his temper remains erratic, and his school performance has cratered. An honor-roll student in eighth grade, he has gotten mostly D's and F's this year. "The change," says his mother, "it's shocking."

It's not possible to diagnose anything like CTE from just those symptoms, particularly because Michael's recent academic problems began before his concussion. But he already had a history of what he calls stingers, or head blows—none of which kept him off the field. What's more, his coach allowed him to return to play only a month or so after his recent concussion, a game in which he took another blow to the head, then lost his temper and got ejected.

Michael is hardly the only student ath-

lete playing roulette with his brain, and his coach is hardly alone in abetting such recklessness. One study has shown that up to 40% of players who experience a concussion are back on the field before their brains have fully healed. That, Gioia says, is especially worrisome since sometimes two mild injuries can do more damage than one severe one. In some cases—mercifully rare—players who return to the field before they're fully recovered may even suffer what is known as malignant brain edema, or second-impact syndrome, in which another blow to the head leads to a fatal brain bleed. About half a dozen kids per year die from second impact.

It's easy enough to make the case that any person who has suffered a brain injury

'I didn't have any exams until two months after the injury ... I lost focus during one test and had no idea what I'd just written.'

—MARY, 16, AN HONORS STUDENT AND CONCUSSION PATIENT



23



Average g-forces generated
by a collision between
two college football players

4 Average g-forces
absorbed by lunar
astronauts on liftoff

180 Maximum g-forces
between college
football players

needs a long period of recuperation before returning to vigorous physical activity. But what about vigorous intellectual activity? The brain is a cognitive machine, and it requires an enormous amount of energy to keep its gears moving. That's a fact concussed kids often confront when they resume their coursework after an injury and find that their symptoms return the moment they crack a book. "Cognitive exertion requires a high degree of metabolic activity," says Gioia. "If you have a brain that's already impaired, that ability is going to be reduced."

Mary, a high school junior and another patient at Gioia's clinic, has suffered three concussions over the past three years as a goalie for her soccer team. Sur-

prisingly, it is not heading the ball that leads to most concussions in soccer—though the limited studies that have been done have looked only at young adults, and none have explored sub-concussive injury. Rather, the damage is done mostly by collisions with other players or, as in Mary's case, with equipment. Her third concussion came last November, when she hit her head against the frame of the goal. She remains an honors student in the International Baccalaureate program in her high school, but the struggle to keep up that level of academic excellence has been grueling.

"I didn't have any exams until two months after the injury," she says. "But when I did, the headaches and fatigue

came back immediately. I lost focus during one test and had no idea what I'd just written." She got through all the same and has gone back to school full time, but every day is a battle with pain, exhaustion and sensitivity to noise and light. She has also accepted that soccer—which was a passion—is just not an option anymore. "I can't afford another concussion," she says.

Digging Deep

THE FACT THAT NO TWO CONCUSSIONS follow the same recovery arc is one of the things that makes them so challenging to diagnose and treat. But that same particularity of injury also provides scientists insights into which people are at the greatest concussive risk.



Gender, for one thing, seems to play a role. Mary may be recovering faster from her injury than Michael is, but on the whole, females are both more susceptible to concussions than males are and suffer more-severe symptoms. So far, the reason for that gap is unclear. There is some thought that a girl's comparatively weaker neck muscles may leave her head more susceptible to violent shock. Hormones too may play a role. Among epileptic girls and women, rising and falling estrogen levels are known to make the brain more or less vulnerable to seizures. The thinking is that this may apply to concussion symptoms as well—though it's unclear whether a girl's hormonal makeup leaves her more concussion-prone throughout the month or just during menstruation.

Genes may also be involved. The fact is, plenty of athletes make it through their careers battered and scarred but cerebrally intact, while others who may not get hit with any greater frequency suffer all manner of brain damage. Researchers at the Children's National Medical Center are studying the genomes of both concussed and nonconcussed kids, looking for markers that may explain the difference.

"There could be a genetic predisposition that affects metabolic activity," says geneticist Susan Knoblach. "People always assume that there's a genetic component in degenerative conditions but not acute ones, but of course there can be."

Maryland's Fairfax County has instituted a program in which student athletes spit into cups so their genetic profiles can be taken. The genomes of the ones who come down with concussions can then be compared for key similarities. Early attention is focusing on a gene that codes for a protein called ApoE, which has been implicated in Alzheimer's disease. In the long run, teasing out concussion genes could lead to better drugs or gene therapy to treat or prevent the injury. In the short run, it could help parents and coaches determine in advance which sports kids are best suited to play. Says Gioia: "We may actually find out, 'You know what? You're not set up to be a football player. You might be a better tennis player.'"

Newer brain-scanning technology is also making a difference, helping doctors diagnose concussions and track recovery. The microscopic size of tau proteins and nerve fibers makes them impossible to


7.0%

Share of team-sport concussions caused by girls' basketball, in a recent study of high school players


11.9%

Share of team-sport concussions caused by girls' soccer. Collision with players or hard surfaces is the usual reason

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ULORIC is a prescription medicine used to lower blood uric acid levels in adults with gout. ULORIC is not for the treatment of high uric acid without a history of gout.

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- Do not take ULORIC if you are taking Azathioprine, Mercaptopurine, or Theophylline.
- Your gout may flare up when you start taking ULORIC; do not stop taking your ULORIC even if you have a flare. Your healthcare provider may give you other medicines to help prevent your gout flares.
- A small number of heart attacks, strokes, and heart-related deaths were seen in clinical studies. It is not certain that ULORIC caused these events.
- Tell your healthcare professional about liver or kidney problems or a history of heart disease or stroke.

- Your healthcare professional may do blood tests to check your liver function while you are taking ULORIC.
- The most common side effects of ULORIC are liver problems, nausea, gout flares, joint pain, and rash.

Please see accompanying Important Patient Information for ULORIC on adjacent page and talk to your healthcare professional.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

For more information, visit www.ULORIC.com or call 1-877-ULORIC-6.



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Uloric
(febuxostat)
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tablets

PATIENT INFORMATION

ULORIC® (Ū-'lor-ik) (febuxostat) tablets



Read the Patient Information that comes with ULORIC before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your healthcare provider about your medical condition or your treatment.

WHAT IS ULORIC?

ULORIC is a prescription medicine called a xanthine oxidase (XO) inhibitor, used to lower blood uric acid levels in adults with gout.

It is not known if ULORIC is safe and effective in children under 18 years of age.

WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE ULORIC?

Do not take ULORIC if you:

- take Azathioprine (Azasan®, Imuran®)
- take Mercaptopurine (Purinethol®)
- take Theophylline (Theo-24®, Elixophyllin®, Theochron®, Theolair®, Uniphyll®)

It is not known if ULORIC is safe and effective in children under 18 years of age.

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTHCARE PROVIDER BEFORE TAKING ULORIC?

Before taking ULORIC tell your healthcare provider about all of your medical conditions, including if you:

- have liver or kidney problems
- have a history of heart disease or stroke
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if ULORIC will harm your unborn baby. Talk with your healthcare provider if you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are breast-feeding or plan to breast-feed. It is not known if ULORIC passes into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you should take ULORIC while breast-feeding.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. ULORIC may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ULORIC works.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

HOW SHOULD I TAKE ULORIC?

- Take ULORIC exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it.
- ULORIC can be taken with or without food.
- ULORIC can be taken with antacids.
- Your gout may flare up when you start taking ULORIC, do not stop taking your ULORIC even if you have a flare. Your healthcare provider may give you other medicines to help prevent your gout flares.
- Your healthcare provider may do certain tests while you take ULORIC.

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Heart problems. A small number of heart attacks, strokes and heart-related deaths were seen in clinical studies. It is not certain that ULORIC caused these events.

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- liver problems
- nausea
- gout flares
- joint pain
- rash

Tell your healthcare provider if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all of the possible side effects of ULORIC. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

HOW SHOULD I STORE ULORIC?

Store ULORIC between 59°F - 86°F (15°C - 30°C).

Keep ULORIC out of the light.

Keep ULORIC and all medicines out of the reach of children.

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SAFE AND EFFECTIVE USE OF ULORIC.

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a patient information leaflet. Do not use ULORIC for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ULORIC to other people, even if they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them.

This patient information leaflet summarizes the most important information about ULORIC. If you would like more information about ULORIC talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for information about ULORIC that is written for health professionals. For more information go to www.uloric.com, or call 1-877-825-3327.

WHAT ARE THE INGREDIENTS IN ULORIC?

Active Ingredient: febuxostat

Inactive ingredients include: lactose monohydrate, microcrystalline cellulose, hydroxypropyl cellulose, sodium croscarmellose, silicon dioxide, magnesium stearate, and Opadry II, green



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see without a postmortem exam, but three noninvasive techniques can help sidestep that problem. Magnetic resonance spectroscopy measures not direct damage to the brain but its metabolic activity—a good way to evaluate the very system that breaks down first when a brain is concussed. Diffusion tensor imaging can observe transmission along nerve-fiber tracks, providing a sense of the integrity of the neural wiring. And resting fMRI allows physicians to watch the brain when it's not performing a task, providing a look at basic function.

Changing the Rules

SMART MEDICINE, OF COURSE, CAN DO ONLY so much to reverse the number of concussions. Smart policy must do the rest. To keep kids from hurting themselves—and to prevent coaches from enabling them—to states, including New Jersey, Oregon, Virginia and football-mad Oklahoma, have passed return-to-play laws requiring kids who have sustained even a suspected concussion in any sport to be pulled from play and not returned until a doctor or certified athletic trainer declares them fit. A handful of other states are considering similar legislation, and last year two separate bills along the same lines were introduced in the House of Representatives. Both will have to be resubmitted under the new GOP majority. Still, the national trend is clear: "When in doubt, sit them out" is how the advocates put it.

Most major professional sports leagues in the U.S., as well as most large universities and 4,000 high schools, now also use a computer program known as ImpACT (for Immediate Post-Concussion Assessment and Cognitive Testing) that mea-

The football helmet was designed to prevent lacerations and fractures—which it does very well—but it does little or nothing to prevent concussions

sures such as basic skills as memory, word recognition and pattern recognition. Players are required to take a baseline test at the beginning of the season and are periodically retested, especially post-concussion, to determine if there's been any erosion of skills. "I used to sit across from athletes doing paper-and-pencil memory tests," says ImpACT developer Mark Lovell, a neuropsychologist at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. "That would never work with large groups of kids. There aren't that many neuropsychologists alive."

Reform is also coming—slowly—to the major manufacturers of football helmets, driven mostly by the NFL, which has imposed much stricter concussion and tackling rules in the past season. The NFL is anxious both to protect its players and to shake its image as a weekly tutorial for student athletes learning all the wrong safety lessons from pros who should know better. Currently, the group that certifies helmets is the National Operating Committee on Standards for Athletic Equipment (NOCSAE), which sounds reassuringly official except for the fact that it's essentially

funded by the manufacturers themselves. NOCSAE has come under fire not only for this seeming conflict of interest but also for what critics consider unreliable testing. The larger problem, though, is that the standard football helmet was designed to prevent only lacerations and fractures—a job it does very well—and to do little or nothing to prevent concussions. "The science just isn't there today," says Dr. Robert Cantu, a neurosurgeon at Boston University and a member of NOCSAE's board.

That's not NOCSAE's or the NFL's fault, but they're trying to do something about it. In December the league and the helmet manufacturers convened a sort of head-injury summit in New York—a gathering that also included officials from NASCAR and the military—to consider helmet modifications that could reduce the concussive carnage. For football, those modifications could include better padding, stronger chin straps and redesigned face masks that distribute shock differently. Kids' helmets must also be more than simply smaller versions of those used by adults. The padding inside all helmets is designed to compress at the forces generated by colliding adult bodies. With the smaller forces kids produce, the padding stays rigid, essentially becoming one more hard surface for the head to strike. Innovations introduced in football could ripple out to other sports' playing fields, to say nothing of battlefields.

Athletics will never be stripped of all danger, and terrible as the blown knee or wrecked elbow may be, there is always an assumption of those risks when you elect to play the game. But the brain is more than a joint or a limb. It's the seat of the self. We overlook that fact at our peril and—much worse—at our children's. ■



A Look Inside. New brain scans are making it easier to spot concussions

Magnetic resonance spectroscopy (MRS)

Traditional magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) is not able to pick up the microscopic physical changes caused by a concussion. MRS (left) can't either, but it can assess the brain's metabolic function. That's key, since the metabolic system falters when a brain is concussed. Unhealthy metabolism means an injured brain

Diffusion tensor imaging (DTI)

Axons, which transmit impulses between brain cells, can be damaged by a concussion. Those fibers are too small to see, but DTI reveals how well they're functioning by tracking the movement of water along them. For the brain to function well, water must move smoothly among its various regions

Resting functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI)

Ordinary fMRI reveals how the brain functions when it's presented with a cognitive task such as reading or problem solving. Resting fMRI looks at the brain in its quiet state—when it's being asked to do nothing at all. That provides a better look at its underlying integrity



Dr.

Oz

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Playing Defense. Kids don't always look out for themselves. It's up to parents and coaches to keep them safe from concussions

IT'S HARD TO MAKE THE CONCUSSION statistics any scarier than they are. With hundreds of thousands of sports-related concussions each year occurring in the U.S. and perhaps only 1 in 10 kids who get hurt reporting the injury, there's no telling exactly what the scope of the damage is. We don't expect children to be the best guardians of their own health, but we expect parents and coaches to watch out for them. And yet it's those very adults who sometimes drop the ball when it comes to preventing and treating concussions. So how can we protect and preserve the precious and sensitive brain function of the kids in our care?

The first thing we need to do is become smarter. Many coaches, parents and kids are still not aware of the risk of concussion in youth sports, though that's slowly changing. Understanding the danger also means learning to recognize symptoms. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) is trying to raise awareness through a comprehensive education program called Heads Up: Concussion in Youth Sports. Available on the CDC website, the program has been adopted by many experts in youth sports and includes critical information about not just spotting concussions when they occur but preventing them in the first place.

If I'm treating you and I suspect you have a concussion, the first question I'd ask is, "Do you remember the injury?" If you answer no or are confused or move clumsily, you most likely have a concussion and need to avoid for at least two weeks any activity that could lead to further injury. That may seem hard to do, but what you get in return is a lifetime of memory and intact neurologic function.

Of course, what I know as a physician isn't always the same as what I feel as a parent—and that's something all parents may experience. When my 16-year-old daughter Zoe banged her head into another girl while playing basketball, I wanted her to get back into the game even though she looked a bit awkward after the collision.

Her coach had more sense and sat her down. When a parent pressures a child to get back in the saddle too soon, it can have catastrophic consequences, and the same can be true of pressure from a coach with a championship game on the line and a star player who's taken a hit and is looking wobbly. In these situations, concern must precede encouragement, and zeal has no place in the parent's or coach's tool kit.

Head injuries don't happen only on the basketball court or the playing field. Everyone—adults and kids alike—should wear helmets when they're skiing, snowboarding, skateboarding or bicycling. The home can be a minefield as well, but there are some simple precautions we can all take. Fall-proof your home to prevent slips by making sure living space is uncluttered, rugs and carpets don't slide, and spills are cleaned up immediately. Be careful on the road too. Always wear your seat belt, since automobile

accidents are one of the more common causes of concussions—as any physician who has worked a shift in the ER could tell you.

There are unexpected new ways to speed recovery from a concussion. A little-known New Zealand study from 2006 showed that tai chi improved the overall mood in patients with traumatic brain injury in a number of ways, including decreasing sadness (12%), confusion (12%), anger (8%), tension (15%) and fear (10%) and increasing energy (14%) and happiness (7%).

The DHA omega-3 fatty acid, a building block of brain tissue, is showing promise in preventing and treating the effects of concussions. In fact, some college athletic associations, like the University of Georgia's, have already introduced the use of algal DHA as part of their postconcussion protocol for all athletes. Unfortunately, while optimal levels of DHA consumption are 100 to 160 mg per day, the average among kids in the U.S. is just 30 to 50 mg. Adults are not doing much better.

Parents should ensure that their children reach their daily DHA goal, either through diet—fish is the main source—or supplements. We are the watchdogs of our kids' minds and health for just 18 years before we send them out into the world. We owe it to them to give them the best possible chance to be happy and thrive there. ■

Mehmet Oz is vice chairman and professor of surgery at Columbia University, a best-selling author and the host of the nationally syndicated television talk show The Dr. Oz Show



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Life

□ MONEY □ BEHAVIOR □ RELIGION

MONEY

Pennies for Your Thoughts.

Amazon's Mechanical Turk service crowdsources big projects for a few cents per task

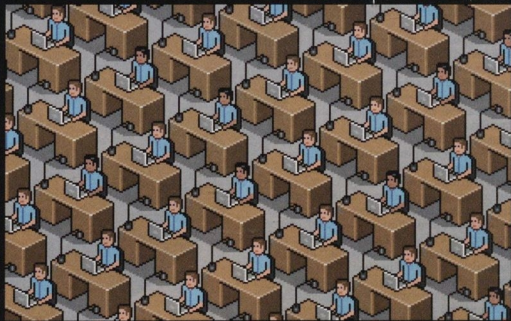
BY BRYAN WALSH

LONG BEFORE IBM BOOTED UP DEEP BLUE, there was a chess-playing automaton that toured Europe in the 18th century, beating such luminaries as Benjamin Franklin and Napoleon. The joke was that the mechanical man, called the Turk, wasn't a robot at all. A person was actually hiding inside the contraption, directing moves that seemed to observers to be made by a fully functioning machine.

So it is with Amazon's Mechanical Turk, or mTurk, service. Companies can take a task that a computer could *almost* do by it-

self but that still requires a bit of human finessing—like transcribing audio into coherent phrases or clicking on photos that contain a particular object—and farm it out to mTurk's hordes of online freelancers, who are eager for the work, however menial. The service, which launched in 2005, now has a pool of more than 200,000 workers who supply what Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos calls "artificial artificial intelligence."

By dividing a job into the smallest possible units—known as human-intelligence tasks, or HITs—companies can use mTurk to get low-level but labor-intensive work done quickly through crowdsourcing. And



Still, Turk is no worker's paradise. The system is heavily weighted toward employers, who are free to reject a Turker's work without explanation. And the pay scale is so low that some critics have called mTurk a digital sweatshop—especially for the increasing number of Turkers in India, where the work can be their primary source of income. Plus, there's something alienating about the experience in the Marxist sense. The labor is anonymous and piecemeal; Turkers usually have no idea what they're working toward. To borrow a phrase from *The Communist Manifesto*, Turkers "become an appendage of the machine," doing the work the machine can't do. Or at least that the machine can't do on its own just yet. ■

Have you been reading
the wrong horoscope?
And no, the answer's
not in the stars

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

LIBRA OCT. 30—NOV. 23

VIRGO SEPT. 16—OCT. 30

LEO AUG. 10—SEPT. 16

CANCER JULY 20—AUG. 10

GEMINI JUNE 21—JULY 20

TAURUS MAY 13—JUNE 21

NOV. 23

OK. Er... I'm totally confused.

I think it's all a load of rubbish anyway!

Hi, baby. You're with me now...

Eek!!

I'm your twin, W! It's brilliant, see?

What are you?

YIPPEE! I've always wanted to be a TAURUS!!



ON JAN. 13, 2011, JUST TWO weeks before Saturn turned retrograde in Libra, humans in the Western world woke to the disruptive report that their star sign had changed. Or rather that their star sign was probably never the one they thought it was.

The response was astronomical, even though many Americans think about the zodiac only when reaching for conversation with models and hunky yoga teachers. Apparently, the best way to get folks to care about their star sign was to try to change it. "Despite not really believing in astrology, I hereby insist on remaining an Aries," said TV host Rachel Maddow, echoing the prevailing sentiment.

All the hubbub was set off inadvertently by Parke Kunkle of the Minnesota Planetarium Society. He observed to the local paper that because of the idiosyncrasies of the earth's orbit around the sun, the stars do not match up with their allotted zodiac months. For example, the sun no longer appears in the constellation, or house, of Aries in March and early April, and it hasn't for hundreds of years. (It now makes its annual flyby in mid-April and early May). Moreover, there's an additional constellation that the sun passes through in December known as Ophiuchus, which never made it into the zodiac we thought we knew. The common conclusions: people who believed they were one star sign were probably the one prior, hardly anyone was a Scorpio, and there was a new group, signified by a guy holding a snake, whose members had no idea how they were supposed to behave.

Astrologers were infuriated by all the fuss. "This whole brouhaha is about the ignorance of astronomers," says astrologer and author Rick Levine. "Astrologers have actually known about this for some 2,000 years."

Western astrology, as it happens, is not predicated on the movement of the sun in relation to the constellations.

It's based on the movement of the sun and planets through the seasons. Back in the 2nd century, when astrology was codified by Ptolemy, the sun was probably in Aries on the first day of spring. That's the vernal equinox, when the sun is directly over the equator, making the earth dark and light for about the same length of time. The tropical zodiac, as it's known, still takes that date, March 21, as the start of Aries and divides the year and the 360-degree path traced by the sun around the earth into 12 parts. From that chart, astrologers make all their predictions. "The stars are irrelevant to the zodiac," says Tarot.com astrologer Jeff Jauer.

So the good news is that the star sign you were born under is still your sign. The bad news is that it's not technically a star sign. And it's an open question, given that *astro-* is from the Greek for star, whether astrology didn't help bring on this confusion. "We could call it planetology," acknowledges Levine. "But that would be stupid."

Indeed. But since only about 25% of Americans believe in astrology, why the big reaction? It's akin to teetotalers' caring whether a bar stocks Gordon's or Beefeater. What role does the zodiac really play in our worldview?

Tellingly, the news took off mostly on Twitter and Facebook, the social networks where people go to craft the narrative of their lives. This was a perfect status update. For those who clung to their sign, it was a chance to reaffirm who they believe they are. For those who embraced a new one, it was an occasion to edit their story—or at least write something funny.

Now that it transpires the zodiac is based on the seasons, not the stars, we can all return to our original sign. Unless, of course, you were born in the southern hemisphere, where the vernal equinox is in September. Psst, Libra, you may really be an Aries. ■

Holy Enrollers. Baby boomers are the fastest-growing demographic at theological schools in the U.S. and Canada



Higher calling Retiree Patrice Fike is spending \$100,000 to attend divinity school in New York City

BY MELBA NEWSOME

IN JULY, 64-YEAR-OLD PATRICE Fike sold her home in Coral Gables, Fla., and her Mercedes, stored most of her furniture and moved into a one-room studio where many of her meals are provided. If she sounds like a retiree relocating to an assisted-living facility, guess again. Fike is living in dormitory housing for the Episcopal Church's General Theological Seminary in New York City, where she will spend three years and \$100,000 of her savings and retirement income to prepare for her new career as a priest.

She's not alone. When Fike attended orientation last spring, she was pleasantly surprised to find that many of her classmates were just like her—baby boomers embarking on a second or third career by answering a higher calling. "It felt good to see so much gray hair there," says Fike, who

retired last summer from her career in pediatric nursing.

Boomers are the fastest-growing demographic at U.S. divinity schools, according to the Association of Theological Schools (ATS), an organization of more than 250 theological graduate schools in the U.S. and Canada. The under-30 crowd may still be the largest cohort of students—accounting for a third of the total—but the 50-or-older group has grown from 12% of students in 1995 to 20% in 2009, the most recent year for which data is available.

While some boomers enter the ministry after being downsized or suffering career setbacks, ATS has some other theories about what's driving the increase. Maybe older divinity students—no longer saddled with their children's tuition or big mortgages to pay off—are motivated by a newfound freedom to pursue their lifelong passions. Or perhaps

LATE BLOOMERS

20%

Percentage of divinity students in 2009 who were 50 or older, according to the Association of Theological Schools

12%

Percentage who were 50 or older in 1995

33%

Percentage in 2009 who were younger than 30

the trend is yet another reflection of a restless generation that isn't content with simply making money or taking it easy in their golden years.

"I wanted to give back in some way," says the Rev. Bob Fellows, who completed his seminary training three years ago at the age of 58. Fellows, who used to make a living as a magician and public speaker, now leads the 200-plus-member Community Congregational Church in Greenland, N.H. He says he spent two years as a youth minister in the 1970s before deciding he wasn't ready to lead a flock at such a young age. "As an older minister, I have a lot more useful life experience," he says.

Like Fellows, many of the older divinity-school applicants have long been active in their churches but recently decided to step up their involvement. "It's rare that they've had a complete 180-degree life change," says McKennon Shea, director of admissions at Duke Divinity School. "They all seem to have had a calling to the ministry at some point."

"This is what I've wanted since I was 8 years old," says Fike, who came of age during the 1960s—a decade before the Episcopal Church's General Convention approved ordination of women to the priesthood in 1976.

Yes, divinity school is expensive. But unlike your average grad student, Fike isn't worried about future employment. Most of her schoolmates find ministerial placements before they graduate. Talk about good news! ■

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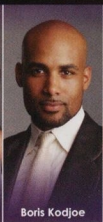
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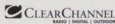
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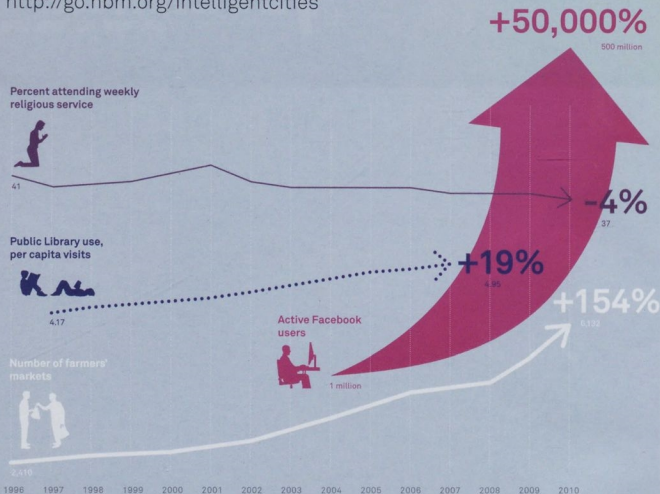


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People love to be with people. It's our nature. Fifty years ago people met at the corner diner, local church or at a neighborhood block party. We still create networks at social clubs, places of worship and neighborhood potlucks but we have now added virtual communities to that list as over 500 million people are on Facebook. Even as electronic forums gain popularity, real places to gather remain important. How can we begin to visualize and cultivate these networks to make better cities? Connections define community: our physical and virtual networks connect us to each other and to the place where we live. **What makes our city intelligent? You do.**



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"Professional and ukulele player
are kind of an oxymoron."

JAKE SHIMABUKURO, PAGE 64

Arts



MOVIES MUSIC TUNED IN SHORT LIST

Star turn After 17 years in film, Portman is coming into her own



MOVIES

Drama Queen. She's got Oscar buzz for *Black Swan* and five more films on the way. Get ready for the year of Natalie Portman

BY RICHARD CORLISS

A PERFECT PICTORIAL BLEND OF STRENGTH and delicacy, Natalie Portman has never known an unlabeled moment in her 17 years on film sets. Nor, one likes to think, off them. The daughter of an Israeli physician and an American artist, Portman gives the impression of having glided through life as a beautiful, dutiful child. She made her first film at 12, as a waif adopted by a gunman in Luc Besson's *The Professional*, and followed

A Natalie Portmanteau. Four of the busy actress's new films



THE OTHER WOMAN As the second wife of a prominent lawyer (Scott Cohen) and stepmother of his bright, ornery son (Charlie Tahan), she gives a warm, mature, richly nuanced performance. Feb. 4



BLACK SWAN The movie that brought Portman her shining moment: a psychological thriller about a Goody Two-Shoes ballerina pirouetting into her darkest depths. Now playing



YOUR HIGHNESS Who's the sharpest-eyed archer in Danny McBride's fond spoof of medieval adventures? And who's never looked more fabulous? The serene Ms. P. April 8



NO STRINGS ATTACHED Sure, she can win an Oscar, but can she headline a Hollywood rom-com? Portman proposes an all-sex, no-love arrangement with Ashton Kutcher, who promptly screws up the deal by falling in love with her. Now playing

that by making movies with top directors (Tim Burton, Mike Nichols, Michael Mann, Woody Allen, Anthony Minghella) while acing high school and then, of course, Harvard. Some college students work as interns or burger flippers during semester breaks; Portman played Padmé Amidala in the three *Star Wars* prequels and graduated right on time. She's one actress whom both a teen fanboy and his mother could dream of welcoming into the family.

As much as the camera loves her, however, Portman often looks uncomfortable before it; she can shiver and wilt in its unblinking gaze. Yes, she did a naughty pole dance in Nichols' *Closer*, she shaved her head for the role of a mad bomber's love in the Wachowski brothers' *V for Vendetta*, and she had a great blowy time as a gambler in Wong Kar-wai's *My Blueberry Nights*. But it seemed sometimes as if her sense of propriety was telling her not to reveal too much. To act is to risk embarrassing yourself in public, and the suspicion lingered that Portman was too much the lady to be a genuine actress, digging for some ugly truth.

If Lady Natalie did indeed need a dose of directorial shock therapy, Darren Aronofsky provided it with *Black Swan*. Portman spent six months getting into sinewy ballerina shape as Nina, who must explore her dark side to nail the leading role in *Swan Lake*. In the story, Nina's choreographer, Thomas (Vincent Cassel), goads her toward artistry or madness, and Aronofsky put Portman through the same arduous steps. The result was less a performance than a primal scream, a flaying of decorum to reveal the tortured soul within. It was not acting; it was Acting!

Black Swan, made for a thrifty \$13 million, earned \$75 million in its first seven weeks—more money at the domestic box office than any of Portman's other non-*Star Wars* movies—and its run is not nearly exhausted. That's partly because its mix of high art and horror has cross-demographic appeal but also because Portman swept most of the critics' awards and is the front runner to snag an Oscar for Best Actress on Feb. 27. All the world is tuning in to catch Lady Natalie's coming-out party as a virgin turned vixen. And finally, at 29, she seems to be enjoying herself: pleased to accept her prizes and radiant with the child she is carrying, courtesy of her fiancé, *Black Swan*'s real choreographer, Benjamin Millepied.

The Natalie Portman Film Festival

IF *BLACK SWAN* MAKES YOU WANT TO SEE a plethora of Portman, you'll have your chance. She's in five other films, some made as long as two years ago, all opening in the next few months. Two are family dramas: *Hesher*, an edgy indie film with Joseph Gordon-Levitt, and *The Other Woman*, soon to get a limited release along with a Video on Demand home showcase. Two others are period fantasies: the medieval romp *Your Highness*, due out April 8, and the Marvel adventure *Thor*, which opens the summer movie season May 6.

No Strings Attached is Portman's declaration that she is ready to play, occasionally, by the industry's rules

But first she faces perhaps her sternest challenge: headlining a traditional Hollywood romantic comedy. In this month's *No Strings Attached*, written by Elizabeth Meriwether and directed by Ivan Reitman, Portman plays a young med student too serious for a serious relationship. So she offers a deal to boy pal Ashton Kutcher: that they "use each other for sex, at all hours of the day or night, and nothing else." Sure, he thinks. Who wouldn't? She's Natalie Portman. But soon he's fallen in love with her—because she's Natalie Portman.

No great shakes as cinema, the film is still a rarity: an R-rated rom-com in which people talk about what people talk about before, during and after sex. Not guy-guy, as in the standard bromance, but guy-gal, with all appropriate gender shadings.

No Strings Attached also tosses Portman into unfamiliar territory. In her young life she's mostly played fraught heroines, whether in big-budget action films or soulful domestic dramas. Both types of roles allow her to show her usual onscreen tenseness. But the key to a rom-com is relaxation: the old movie magic of an easy warmth kindling between two stars. Kutcher can do this just by showing up; for Portman, it's another lesson to be learned, and it takes her about half of the film to get it right.

Still, *No Strings Attached* (on which she also served as executive producer) is Portman's declaration that she's ready to play, occasionally, by the industry's rules—to take on the ordinary movies that, in sum, define a modern film star. Her fans may think that's a detour or a ditch for an Oscar-worthy actress. But who's to say that Lady Natalie's Hollywood eminence wouldn't be another lovely thing? ■

MOVIES

Masterpiece on Demand. Elia Suleiman's new film is one foreign movie getting wide release—on 50 million TVs

BY RICHARD CORLISS

WHEN MOVIE CRITICS WAX RHAPSODIC about a picture outside the mainstream, especially a foreign-language film, they do so with impunity. Virtually no one will argue with them, because few will take the trouble to see the quirkier movies they recommend. Specialty films typically play in only a few big cities and the hipper college towns; audiences susceptible to the discreet charms of an exotic new movie might wait to watch the DVD at home. Thus a critic's enthusiasm has the muted impact of one hand clapping.

I might throw the full bulk of my critical authority behind the following declarations: Elia Suleiman's *The Time That Remains* is one of the finest films of the past few years; it's set in the director's hometown, Nazareth, and takes the form of a family biography that spans the 60-plus years of Israeli occupation; it's dry and sly and tender and kind of epic; and it's now playing at one small theater in Manhattan before a slightly wider release in a few weeks. And you, dear, adventurous, moviegoing reader, are welcome to reply—if I didn't lose you at *Palestine* or *Suleiman*—that you won't be flying to New York City on my say-so.

Now, however, movie fans no longer have that excuse. *The Time That Remains*

is watchable not just at the IFC Center in New York but also in any of the 50 million homes whose TV service's video-on-demand function carries offerings from IFC or Sundance Selects. Rainbow Media, the parent company of both, releases a half-dozen films a month, each for less than the price of a typical movie ticket (\$5.99 to \$9.99). While most of these films do get a theatrical release, many—like the award-winning miniseries *Carlos*, the art-world documentary *The Art of the Steal* and that ultra-odd horror film *The Human Centipede*—find more viewers on TV than in theaters. In a time of contracting business for all but the most widely heralded foreign and independent films, this is a chance to catch art-house fare in your own house.

Comedy During Wartime

NO FILM IS MORE DESERVING OF FINDING an audience than Suleiman's. Born in Nazareth in 1960, he has worked in Paris and New York, and his films (1996's *Chronicle of a Disappearance* and 2002's *Divine Intervention*) display the conflicting influences of French movie minimalism and American silent comedy: Robert Bresson meets Buster Keaton. But Suleiman's wit is also the hopeless mirth of an occupied people. If you're a Palestinian, his films suggest, the one thing you can safely smuggle through Israeli checkpoints is a sense of humor.

Based on his father's diaries and his mother's recollections, *The Time That Remains* is split into five sections. In 1948 his father joins the ragtag opposition to the invading army. (When he is captured and ordered to give information before the count of 10—or he'll be shot and killed—he immediately says, "Ten.") In the 1960s, Elia is part of the family, a restless kid in an Israeli-run school. In the 1970 and 1980 episodes, Elia is a young man returning home from stays in the U.S. and France. The final section shows him caring for his aged mother amid the occasional explosions of Israeli and insurgent bombs.

From this recipe for incendiary propaganda, Suleiman makes a buoyant comic soufflé. If there's a message, beyond the one that an oppressed people should be free, it's that folks on either side of an occupation eventually learn how to go about their lives. In this middle-class neighborhood—and one of the film's lessons is that there is a Palestinian middle class—a local man paces back and forth across a quiet street as he talks on a cell phone; in front of him is a huge Israeli tank, whose gun turret is pointed at him, moving as he moves, stopping when he does. Nobody shouts; nobody shoots; life, absurdly and doggedly, goes on.

Inside the droll satire, Suleiman packs some emotive power, especially while comforting his dying mother late in the film. A nonlethal explosion—a display of fireworks—lights up the night sky, and the old woman gets one last pleasure.

The joys of *The Time That Remains* are plentiful and deep—well worth a click of the remote to video on demand. By the film's end, there'll be two hands clapping. ■



A family in Nazareth
Suleiman's father (Saleh Bakri), mother (Samar Tanus) and younger self (Zuhair Abu Hanna)



MUSIC

A String Thing. The humble, portable ukulele makes a comeback, thanks to the recession and YouTube

BY TIM MORRISON

FORGET EVERYTHING YOU KNOW ABOUT the ukulele—there, that was easy—and go do a quick Google search. The first video that pops up won't be some grainy clip of Tiny Tim or George Formby but a performance by a hair-gelled 34-year-old Hawaiian named Jake Shimabukuro. In 2006, the ukulele virtuoso's jaw-dropping rendition of the Beatles' "While My Guitar Gently Weeps" hit YouTube and went viral, pulling in more than 7 million viewers. Since then, Shimabukuro has played with Jimmy Buffett, performed for Queen Elizabeth II and scored a cameo in the new Adam Sandler film. His new album, *Peace Love Ukulele*, debuted at No. 1 on *Billboard*'s World Music chart. "The words *professional and ukulele player* are kind of an oxymoron," Shimabukuro admits. "I pinch myself every morning, like, Wow, this is pretty amazing."

More amazing still: the ukulele is catching on. It's there, plinking away on Train's inescapable 2010 hit "Hey, Soul Sister." It's in the hands of Ryan Gosling, who uses it to woo Michelle Williams in the film *Blue Valentine*. And it's especially widespread on the Internet, where clips by the likes of Shimabukuro and the late Hawaiian singer Israel "Bruddah Iz" Kamakawiwo'ole have been viewed tens of millions of times. (Bruddah Iz's rendition of "Over the Rainbow," released in 1993, topped the German pop charts for eight weeks last fall after it was used in a TV ad.) On New Year's Eve, film critic Roger Ebert tweeted his resolution: "learn to play the ukulele."

Cheap and Cheerful

NOT BAD FOR THE FOUR-STRINGED, TWO-octave bantamweight of the guitar family, whose name is said to mean "jumping flea" in Hawaiian. The instrument, introduced to the islands by Portuguese immigrants in the 19th century, is undergoing

a renaissance. Hohner Inc., which manufactures the Lanikai brand of ukuleles, saw sales shoot up 300% in 2010. "It's just growing everywhere," says Scott Emmerman, Hohner's director of marketing and sales. "Small towns, large towns, urban, rural—it's across the board right now."

So why the ukulele's sudden popularity? For one thing, it's cheap. "For 40 bucks, you can get an instrument that's not a piece of crap," says Andy Suh, a salesman at Sam Ash Music Stores in Manhattan, who over the holidays sold up to 10 ukuleles a day. According to Hohner's research, during the Great Depression, only two instruments showed year-on-year increases in sales: the harmonica and the ukulele, both cheap, compact and easy to learn. "History is repeating itself," says Emmerman.

But there's something ineffably attractive too about the tiny, portable, sweet-tempered instrument. "It's about the size of a baby in your arms," says record producer Roger Greenawalt, who on Jan. 15-16 organized a marathon performance of the entire Beatles songbook on ukulele at a Brooklyn concert hall. (The instrument's connection to the Fab Four goes way back; George Harrison's son Dhani recalls the guitarist serenading airline passengers on the ukulele when he traveled.) After witnessing the 9/11 attacks and feeling "just bummed out," Greenawalt left New York for San Francisco to stay with his cousin, an amateur musician who had ukuleles around the house. "I started playing one and just started feeling *un-bummed out*," he says. "Even playing depressing songs, the ukulele cheers you up. It's like a happiness machine."

Shimabukuro, who now tours 10 months a year, says he's often approached in airports by people curious about his instrument. "There's a friendliness to the ukulele that's very rare," he says. "If everyone played the ukulele, the world would be a better place." ■

MUSIC

Sensitive Kids

Nathan Willett likes to read. The 31-year-old lead singer of Cold War Kids revisits his favorite J.D. Salinger books at least once a year and is more likely to reference Hemingway than the Rolling Stones when talking about his songwriting. It's no wonder then that the California rock quartet's stark, bluesy 2006 debut, *Robbers & Cowards*, ignored the standby topics of love and lust, instead spinning moody, literary tales of sin, faith and redemption. But on its third album, *Mine Is Yours*, the group, which formed at a Southern California Christian college, is ditching most of the angst and singing pretty, cleaned-up songs about love. "I hit a point where I was like, I could keep doing this fictional-narrative-as-song thing," says Willett, who married his long-time girlfriend in 2008. "or I could do something different that I've never tried before."

Though *Mine Is Yours* contains a few missteps—"Finally Begin" sounds like something that might be heard in a Sandra Bullock comedy—for the most part, Cold War Kids have managed to smooth their edges while remaining jagged in all the right spots. The album's pounding first single, "Louder than Ever," isn't a breakup song so much as a we-need-to-talk anthem. "Royal Blue," easily the best track, is a spirited, piano-and-guitar number about the redemptive quality of devotion.

There are no fictional stories on *Mine Is Yours*, no songs about murderers, thieves or women who jump off the Golden Gate Bridge. Devoted fans might find the band's makeover hard to take, but Willett hasn't abandoned his literary influences. "Sensitive Kid," an autobiographical account of his parents' divorce, is full of telling, writerly detail (missing silverware, discarded family photo albums)—and it's no wonder: the song was inspired, Willett says, by Jonathan Franzen's memoir *The Discomfort Zone*. "That book nailed it for me," he says. "It's O.K. to tell stories from your past that are embarrassing or that make you look vulnerable." And it's O.K. to put out an album like that too. —CLAIRE SUDDATH



Detente On their new album, *Cold War Kids* give love songs a chance



James

Poniewozik

Faking News. The *Onion* made newspaper headlines into comedy gold. Can it make cable news funnier than it already is?

WHEN YOU FIRST LAY EYES ON CABLE-news anchor Brooke Alvarez, you may suspect you've seen her somewhere before. Brisk, blond and vulpine, she's the picture of a dozen beautiful and terrifying news readers familiar from Fox News and elsewhere. Alvarez tears into her teleprompter copy like an eagle skeletonizing its kill; as techno-martial music plays and graphics swarm about her, she declares, "You've just been cleared to enter... the FactZone!"

The anchor of the fictional newscast *FactZone* with Brooke Alvarez on the IFC Channel's *Onion News Network* is played by Suzanne Sena, who so effectively nails the mannerisms of a cable-news anchor because she was one, for Fox. The casting choice is a brilliant meta-joke: the philosophy behind this TV spin-off from the Peabody Award-winning satirists at the *Onion* is that 24-hour news is itself a kind of performance. Which makes it a rich subject and—even more so than the newspapers that the *Onion* has long spoofed—a tough one. It didn't take a comedy writer, after all, to give us cable news shows hosted by a former governor disgraced in a sex scandal and by a doomsday prophet given to on-air weeping. Is it possible to make cable news funnier than it already is?

There's no lack of trying—or lack of audience. Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert offer a solid hour of media satire nightly, and the *Onion*'s other brand extension, the sports-TV parody *Onion SportsDome*, recently launched on Comedy Central. But there's more than one way to spoof

ONN is a relentless half-hour of bludgeoning graphics, hyperbole and anxiety. The show's slogan says it all: 'News without mercy'

a news medium. *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* are both personality-driven; Stewart is our exasperated guide through the excesses of hype and politics, while Colbert performs as a recognizably comic fake pundit. Both shows rely on a personal connection that is as assuring as it is acerbic: the world may be crazy, they say, but at least someone else sees it too.

ONN is darker and more deadpan,



an immersive satire that, much like the *Onion*'s Web and print editions, skewers the medium's form above all. It's like a technically impeccable music-parody band: there's almost no distinguishing it from the original until you listen to the lyrics—for instance, a story about a white teen girl accused of a stabbing who is ordered "to be tried as a black adult." ("The court has directed the local media to assume she's guilty.")

Because ONN is taped in advance, it can't take on current events as readily as Stewart or Colbert can. Its real subject is the heated language of cable news, which it mimics as well as the *Onion* does poker-faced AP wire-service style. ONN is a relentless half-hour of bludgeoning graphics, hyperbole (a winter-storm report is captioned SNOWLOCAUST) and anxiety. The show's slogan says it all: "News without mercy."

Unlike Colbert's parody, broadly based on Bill O'Reilly, ONN's isn't specific.

There's a little of Fox's burnished aggression, a little of CNN's high-gloss dispassion and HLN's high-speed news buffet, even a nod to MSNBC's ubiquitous prison documentaries. There are clips from other shows on the fictional ONN network, like the haranguing, Nancy Grace-esque *Cross Examination with Shelby Cross* and the insipid morning show *Today Now!* It's not so much a spoof of a single network as of the cable-news gestalt of agitation and non sequitur. Maybe the best compliment you can pay ONN is that you can almost feel your blood pressure rise as you watch.

The early episodes share the strengths

and weaknesses of the classic *Onion*, in which the highlight of a story is usually a single, pitch-perfect headline. Some sketches drag—on TV, unlike online, you can't skim—and the funniest bits are often in the throwaway graphics and background visuals. (For instance, a Sarah Palin "Choose Your Own Presidency Adventure," purportedly produced by Palin's office, flashes onscreen, "Why stop at a Canadian border wall?" Sarah asked. "We should have an eastern and a western border wall too.")

ONN's bigger problem may be that cable networks—earnest as they can be when grave news breaks—already use the rhythms and devices of comedy. Keith Olbermann delivers zingers when he's not delivering special comments, and Glenn Beck uses tropes right out of morning-zoo radio (where he started out). HLN hired comic Joy Behar to host a talk show; CNN's replacement for Larry King, Piers Morgan, proved his chops not just in newspapers but on *America's Got Talent* and *Celebrity Apprentice*. (*SportsDome* has a similar challenge in sending up *SportsCenter*-style shows, which are 50% comedy and 40% catchphrases to begin with.)

Walking that line between reality and comedy—and showing where it disappears altogether—may be ONN's biggest joke and best service. But it will also be a challenge to sustain. The *Onion* headline for its own foray into TV might be SATIRISTS DEMAND THAT TARGET MEDIUM STOP PARODYING ITSELF.

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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 TELEVISION Archer

FX's animated comedy goes inside the office politics and bad relationships at ISIS, the world's most dysfunctional spy agency. Dashing, arrogant Sterling Archer completes missions while dodging traps, ex-lovers and his mother (who's also his boss). Bawdy, brilliant and double-o-riginal.

2 DVD Broadway News

A nerdy reporter (Albert Brooks), a fireball producer (Holly Hunter) and an amiable dolt who embodies the future of TV news (William Hurt) are the odd trio in James L. Brooks' timeless 1987 comedy: still a great satire of the infotainment delivery system.

3 BOOKS The Fates Will Find Their Way

In Hannah Pittard's debut novel, a dreamlike cross between *The Virgin Suicides* and *The Lovely Bones*, an alluring teenager vanishes on Halloween, leaving the adolescent boys who worshipped her bereft and forever imagining her possible lives and deaths.

4 DVD Enter the Void

Let others take pictures of people talking; crazy genius Gaspar Noé (*Irreversible*) believes in total, hallucinatory cinema. In this 2 hr. 40 min. tale of love before and after death, his peripatetic camera sends the adventurous viewer on a punishing, rewarding head trip.

5 VIDEO GAME LittleBIGPlanet 2

Not only do you get a first-class action romp with this sequel to the 2008 PS3 hit, you also get a game that lets you make other games. The improved level-building tools in LittleBIGPlanet 2 let users craft puzzle games, arcade shooters or whatever else their hearts desire.

Arts Online

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Q&A Joel McHale

He's the host of E!'s *The Soup*, the star of NBC's *Community* and a touring comedian. As if that weren't enough, he'll also host the Film Independent Spirit Awards on Feb. 26. Joel McHale talked to TIME about Chevy Chase, his oddly frequent stripped-to-his-skivvies scenes and how to be snarky but nice.

With the touring, the TV shows, the Spirit Awards and three movies coming out, how do you have time to work out as much as you evidently do?

I actually don't work out much at all. When I hear I'm going to be naked on camera, I freak out, and then I starve myself and do as many push-ups as I can.

Which is how many?

Well, let's see. I do 200 in the morning, and every time I come back from a break on the set, I do about 30 or 40.

And crunches?

No. My abs—that's from the not eating.

You've worked with Chevy Chase for a couple of seasons on *Community*. What have you learned about him that might surprise us?
He wears the same pants a lot. The guy's a huge movie star, but he sure loves those cargo pants.

How do you manage to be both snarky and likable on *The Soup*?

We aren't setting out to be openly mean. You never hear us go, "That's stupid." We try to let a clip or a story skewer itself.

You have a master's degree in theater. Is seven years on *The Soup* what you expected to be doing with your life?

What we did most of the time in classical theater was we skewered reality-show contestants in front of one camera. So what are you talking about? My Alexander technique and training really come in handy.

—ARI KARPEL





Nancy

Gibbs

Roaring Tigers, Anxious Choppers. One sure thing about parenting: no one can crack the code

THE ASIAN TIGER MOM THAT AMY CHUA PORTRAYS IN her new book may seem like just one more species in the genus Extreme Parent—the counterpart to the hovering American *Parents helicopter* or the Scandinavian Curling Parents, who frantically rush ahead of their children, sweeping their paths clear of the tiniest obstacles.

The common characteristics include an obsession with a child's success, a reflex to treat kids as extensions or reflections of oneself and patterns of conduct that impartial observers might class as insane if not criminal, if not both. In Chua's case, this famously includes prohibiting grades lower than an A, TV, playdates and sleepovers, and warning her pianist child that "if the next time's not

PERFECT, I'm going to TAKE ALL YOUR STUFFED ANIMALS AND BURN THEM." In the case of the classic Western helicopter parent, it starts with Baby Einstein and reward charts for toilet training, and it never really ends, which is why colleges have to devote so many resources to teaching parents how to leave their kids alone.

But it is the differences between the Tigers and the Choppers that help explain the furor Chua has caused, at least in the U.S. Tigers fixate on success, defined as achievement in precision-oriented fields like music and math; Choppers are obsessed with failure and preventing it at all costs. Tigers operate in a culture of discipline; Choppers, in a culture of fear. Tigers view children as tough, able to take the abuse; Choppers view them as precious, to be raised under glass. Their fury at a bad grade is more likely to land on the teacher than on the child.

And if Chua appears to sentence her children to slave labor, Western parents enshrine their children and crave their friendship. "The thing that impresses me most about America," observed Edward, Duke of Windsor, who knew something about indulgence, "is the way parents obey their children." There is something bracing about Chua's apparent indifference to her daughters' hostility, especially for parents who have learned that even if you let your teenagers spend 50 hours a week on Facebook, they'll still find reasons to hate you. (My favorite title of a parenting book: *Get Out of My Life, but First Could You Drive Me and Cheryl to the Mall?*)

The reactions to Chua's book, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, have ranged from praise for her honesty to scorn for her "extreme, rigid and authoritarian approach," as

one critic put it. But in less hysterical precincts, she elicits a more conflicted response. First reaction: My God, she's crazy. Second reaction: Maybe she's right. I suspect one reason the book has touched such a nerve is a suspicion among the Choppers that an excessive fear of failure guarantees it—that if you don't let your kids get clobbered now and then by a tough teacher, they'll never have the resilience to thrive as adults in a competitive economy.

Twenty-first century parenting already seemed like a gladiatorial contest, its battles fought in playgrounds, at book clubs and especially online, with the rise of parenting websites where parents—O.K., mainly moms—claw and bite. You let your toddler have Froot Loops? You

quit karate lessons? Western parents may exalt freedom and self-expression, but in many ZIP codes, parenting is a highly conformist activity, with protocols every bit as strict as Chua's. Commenters spank the moms who appear insufficiently committed to breast feeding ("You literally make me shudder," reads one response on UrbanBaby.com).

Some of Chua's critics sound just as smug when they declare that the Tigers' "inside-the-box thinking is why Bill Gates, Steve



Jobs, Michael Dell and/or a cure for cancer will never come from China." Too much discipline, they argue, makes for submissiveness and lack of imagination, because imagination by its nature is subversive; it colors outside the lines. Likewise, invention, the creation of something utterly new, violates the authority of the present and the tyranny of tradition.

But this much derision, I suspect, reflects some doubts. Western families have no monopoly on happiness, and those of the helicopter variety at least do not exactly encourage wild individuality in their children. Trust your instincts, Dr. Spock advised back in 1946; but that involves a leap of faith that many modern parents find terrifying. Helicopter parents are great believers in expertise: read enough books, consult enough professionals, and you can crack the parenting code. Chua's daughters are, by all accounts, girls any parent would be proud of. But maybe the real appeal is her tone of certainty in discussing something so confounding as child rearing—as if it's a puzzle to be solved rather than a picture to be painted, and there's no way to know what it will look like until it's done.

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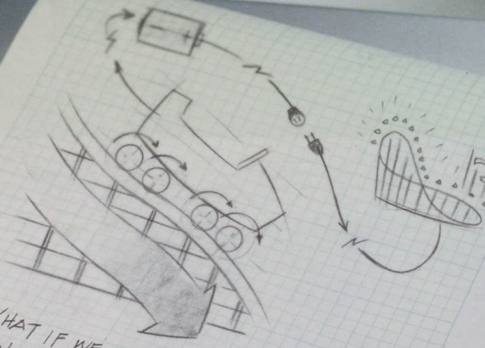
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